

Sean Bertram

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MEDITATIONS

OF THE EMPEROR

MARCUS AURELIUS K.

ANTONINUS.

NEWLY translated from the GREEK: with
NOTES, and an account of his LIFE.

FOURTH EDITION.

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INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING SOME OF THE
MOST MEMORABLE PASSAGES,

PRESERV'D, OF THE LIFE OF THE

E M P E R O R

MARCUS ANTONINUS.

THE authors of this translation, judging that these divine sentiments of ANTONINUS, may be of some advantage to many who have not access to them, while they are kept in the learned languages, undertook to make them as plain as the subjects would admit. some of these me-

ditions cannot well be apprehended, without a considerable acquaintance with the philosophy and stile of the Stoics: some of them are only memorial hints this great man intended for himself alone, the design of which, the commentators cannot pretend certainly to explain; and the true text of the original is not always certain: but, there are many of them obvious to every capacity; which contain some of the plainest, and yet most striking considerations, to affect the hearts of those who have any sense of goodness, and warm them with the noblest emotions of piety, gratitude, and resignation to GOD; contempt of sensual pleasure, wealth, worldly grandeur, and fame; and a constant inflexible charity, and good-will and

compassion toward our fellows, superior to all the force of anger or envy, or our little interfering worldly interests.

THE old English translation can scarce be agreeable to any reader; because of the intricate and antiquated stile. the late translation seems not to preserve sufficiently the grand simplicity of the original. this translation, therefore, is almost entirely new; according to Gataker's edition of the original, and his Latin version.

'TIS quite foreign to our design, either to shew art and ingenuity in drawing a character of this great man; or in making encomiums upon him; or to display our diligence or knowledge, in making an history of his life. his own meditations, to every judi-

ous reader, will present a great soul; adorned with the soundest understanding, the most amiable sweetness and kindness of affections, the most invincible meekness, steady justice, humility, and simplicity, and the most entire resignation to GOD. and the history of his life, even as 'tis imperfectly preserved to us, will shew his great capacity, and penetration in public affairs, and his strength of mind, calmness, and intrepidity amidst the greatest dangers.

To give these meditations the greater force upon the mind of the reader; as well as to gratify his natural curiosity; and, to remove what prejudices may possibly occur to him; we subjoin the following short abstract

of his life, taken from the collections made by Dacier and Stanhope.

MARCUS AURELIUS was born in the year of our Lord 121, during the reign of Adrian. by his father Annius Verus, he was of one of the greatest families in Italy, descended, as 'tis said, from Numa. his grandfather had been thrice Consul and Prefect of the city, and survived Annius Verus. his aunt by his father, Annia Faustina, was married to Antoninus Pius the Emperor. Marcus Aurelius's mother was also of an eminent consular family, the daughter of Calpurnius Tullus.

OUR Emperor's first name was Annius Verus, the same with his father's. Adrian, who had loved him

from his infancy, called him Annius Verissimus; probably, from the early appearance of candour and veracity in his temper. when he was adopted into the Aurelian family, he took the name of his adoptive father Marcus Aurelius. he was but a child when his own father died; but was educated by his grandfather; who procured for him the best instructors in pronuntiation, music, geometry, greek, and rhetoric, or, oratory. but his soul was soon intent upon something still greater than these ingenious accomplishments; and he shewed no high taste for them. he was instructed in the Stoic philosophy by Sextus Chaeronensis, Plutarch's grandson; Iunius Rusticus, Claudius Maximus, and Cinna Catulus; and in the Peripate-

tic, by Claudius Severus. philosophy was his favourite study.

HE shewed his perpetual gratitude to these good men; not only by promoting them in the world, to dignity and wealth; but by a continual respect for them, even when he was in the highest elevation of fortune. and, in the very beginning of his meditations, he has perpetuated their memory, his own gratitude, and his honest humility, in ascribing all his virtues to their instructions, and nothing to himself; in a manner truly original, and peculiar to him. he studied also the laws of his country under Volutius Mecianus, the most celebrated lawyer of that age.

HE was dear to Adrian, so early, that he was advanced to the equestri-

an dignity at six years of age; and made one of the priests of Mars at eight. he was even entrusted with some great charges, before he was twenty; and acquitted himself with as great decency and dignity, as any of the old magistrates. he had some taste for painting, in his youth, and practised it for some time. but he more admired wrestling, racing, tennis, and hunting, as the natural means of health and vigour, for the discharging all honourable offices. he often encountered the fiercest boars, with safety and honour.

BUT, his chief delight was in the Stoic philosophy; and that in practice, as well as speculation. he lived up to all their austerities, in spare diet, plain dress, and abstinence from all softness,

M. ANTONINUS. 11

effeminacy, and luxury; even from twelve years of age. nature had formed him for the greatest dignity and constancy; with a singular firmness of soul; not to be moved by any accidents; so that most of the historians assure us, that scarce ever did joy or grief make any change in his countenance; and this gravity was ever easy to others; being free from all moroseness or pride.

HE gave up all his father's, and his mother's estate too, to his sister Annia Cornificia, who was married to Numidius Quadratus.

A. D. 139. ADRIAN, upon the death of his former adoptive son Cæsenius Commodus, inclined to have adopted Marcus Aurelius to be his successor, then about 18 years of age;

but deeming him too young, he adopted Antoninus Pius, on condition that he should immediately adopt Marcus, and L. Verus, the son of the same Commodus. 'tis said that Marcus had dreamed the preceeding night, that his shoulders and arms were of ivory, and that he found them much stronger than formerly. the news of his adoption seemed to afflict him; and he spoke a great deal, on that occasion, about the evils and dangers which always attend supreme power.

A. D. 140. UPON Adrian's death, Antoninus Pius his successor betrothed his daughter Faustina in marriage to Marcus Aurelius, and raised him to the consulship; and, soon after, conferred on him the honours of the successors to the empire. these things in-

creased his keenness in the study and practice of philosophy; and Antoninus Pius brought Apollonius the Stoic from Athens, to assist him.

ABOUT this time, Marcus's old tutor died; who had had the constant charge of him from his infancy. on this occasion, he could not refrain from tears; and when some about the court, put him in mind of his usual constancy and steadiness, Antoninus Pius replied in his defence, 'you must give him leave to be a man: neither philosophy nor imperial dignity can extinguish our natural affections.'

A. D. 147. AT the age of 25, he married Faustina: a wife no way suited to such an husband. she soon bore him a daughter; and, in the same year, the senate conferred on him all

manner of honours and powers; even higher than on any of his predecessors; and he ever employed them for the good of the state; always promoting men solely on account of their merit; and seemed to pay still greater deference to Antoninus the Emperor, perpetually attending him, and doing him all manner of kind offices; so that their mutual friendship was inaccessible to all the attempts of designing men, to raise any distrusts or suspicions between them.

A. D. 161. UPON the death of Antoninus Pius, the senate obliged Marcus Aurelius to take upon him the government; and he assumed L. Verus as partners in it. they both took the name of Antoninus; and Marcus betrothed his daughter Lucilla to Ve-

rus: after this, they celebrated, with the greatest magnificence, the funeral, or, apotheosis of Antoninus; the ceremonies of which are told by all antiquaries; and each of the new Emperors made a funeral oration upon him.

As soon as he was settled in the supremepower, application was made from all quarters, by the heathen priests, philosophers, and governors of provinces, for leave to persecute th Christians. but, whatever persecution there might be in the remoter provinces, we have no assurance that it was authorised by the Emperor; as indeed it was intirely contrary to his principles and inclination. 'tis even denied by Valesius, in his notes upon Eusebius, that the apology of

Justin Martyr called the first, tho' truly the second, was addressed to this Emperor, or to the senate, during his reign. he brings several reasons to prove that both these apologies were wrote and presented to Antoninus Pius. 'tis, however, probable, that there have been some considerable persecutions, in several parts of the empire, during his reign. Eusebius preserves to us a letter of this Emperor's, upon applications made by some of the heathens, for leave to persecute the Christians, when they had been terrified by some pretended prodigies and earthquakes. it was directed to some general council of Asia, and carries along with it many characters of this author, tho' some ascribe it to his predecessor.

'MARCUS AURELIUS ANTO-
 'NINUS, &c. to the assembly of A-
 'sia, greeting. I am sure the Gods will
 'take care that such men as you de-
 'scribe, should not be hid; and it suits
 'themselves much better to punish
 'such as refuse them worship, than
 'you. your harassing them with char-
 'ges of Atheism, only confirms them
 'more in their sentiments. to them
 'it must be eligible, rather to die for
 'their own God, under such accusa-
 'tions, than to live. thus they al-
 'ways defeat you; throwing away
 'their lives rather than do what you
 'require of them. as to those earth-
 'quakes, for some time past, which
 'yet continue, 'tis proper to admo-
 'nish you, to compare your conduct
 'with theirs. they, on such occasions,

‘ confide more in their God ; but you,
‘ all this time, through your igno-
‘ rance, neglect the Gods, as well as
‘ other things, and all the worship
‘ due to that immortal being, whose
‘ worshippers, the Christians, you are
‘ harassing and persecuting to death.
‘ many of the governors of provin-
‘ ces wrote about these matters, to
‘ my divine father ; and he prohibited
‘ their giving the Christians any dis-
‘ turbance ; unless they were found
‘ making some attempts against the
‘ Roman state. many have applied to
‘ me about the same matter. I wrote
‘ to them in the same sentiments with
‘ my father. if any shall still persist in
‘ prosecuting them, merely as Chris-
‘ tians, let the person prosecuted be
‘ acquitted, tho’ it should appear he

' were a Christian; and let the prosecutor be punished.'

THIS letter, and that extraordinary character which the Christian writers, as well as the heathen, give to this emperor, for justice, and lenity of temper, must easily convince us that he never could authorise such persecution of men, merely for Christianity.

IN this first year of his reign, his son Commodus was born; whose horrid vices were, they say, fore-boded by several dismal prodigies; such as inundations, earthquakes, and the burning of several cities. the Emperor was immediately engaged in wars on all sides; by the invasions of the Parthians, all the way to Syria; and of the Catti, into Germany, as far as

to the country of the Grifons: the Britons too revolted. Calphurnius Agricola was sent to command in Britain; Aufidius Victorinus to oppose the Catti; and Verus went against the Parthians.

BUT as soon as Verus left Rome, and was no longer overawed by the authority and virtue of Antoninus, he gave himself up to all debauchery, and fell sick at Canusium. M. Antoninus went thither to see him, and gave him his best advice as to his future conduct. Verus, upon his recovery, continued his march; but was not reformed by his sickness. he plunged again into all sort of debauchery at Daphne, one of the suburbs of Antioch, and committed the war to his lieutenants; which they managed suc-

cessfully. Antoninus, pleased with the success, and, either unapprised of his returning to his vices, or, hoping to reclaim him by all the ties of affection, offered him in marriage his daughter Lucilla, a princess of singular beauty; and sent her to him, while he was in Syria. he declined going with her himself; lest any should imagine he aimed to share the glory of these conquests. he wrote to the several * proconsuls and governors in her way, to be at no vain expence in her reception, as she passed through their provinces; but to let her perform her journey in a private manner. this princess shewed as little regard to virtue, or her character, as her husband, upon the success * of

* A. D. 167.

* A. D. 168.

this war, the two Emperors had a triumph.

ABOUT this time, upon an insurrection of the Germans, Antoninus marched against them in person; and from his own judgment of the abilities of Pertinax, who afterwards was raised to the empire, made him one of his lieutenants; and never had reason to repent of his choice. this war was also successful. the Germans were defeated, after their many vigorous efforts, by the bravery of the Emperor and his army. Antoninus shewed his wisdom and steddiness on this occasion, when the victorious army, after their great and dangerous services, demanded an augmentation of their pay: he refused it; telling them that ' he could not do it but at

‘ the expence of their brethren and
 ‘ kinsmen ; for whom he was account-
 ‘ able to God.’

A. D. 169. THE year following, a more dangerous war arose from the Quadi and Marcomanni ; while the plague also raged in Italy. the Emperor used great variety of sacrifices and religious rites, to ‘appease the Gods ; and then went against the enemy, taking Verus along with him, who rather inclined to have continued in his debaucheries at Rome. Antoninus soon conquered the enemy ; and, in his return, Verus died of an apoplexy at Altinum, or, as some suspect, by poison, given him by his wife Lucilla, upon finding an incestuous intrigue of his with his own sister.

ABOUT this time, the governors

of some remote provinces renewed the persecution against the Christians. there is no other evidence of the Emperor's authority interposed, or countenance given, for this purpose, except, that, in answer to a letter of the governor of Gaul, asking what the Emperor inclined should be done with some Christian prisoners, he ordered, 'that such only as confessed, ' should be put to death, and the rest ' released.' now, Christians were ordinarily accused for other crimes than any religious tenets; such as treason and sedition, the murdering of infants, and eating them, and incestuous debaucheries in their assemblies. 'tis very credible the emperor intended by this order, that only such should die, as confessed these crimes, and not

all such as confessed that they were of the Christian religion; for, at that rate, scarce any would have been released: and yet, upon this ambiguity, there was, in some provinces, a violent persecution. 'tis thought that Antoninus was not at Rome in the year 166, but abroad, when Justin Martyr is said to have suffered. it was probably on this occasion, that Athenagoras composed, and sent to the Emperor, his beautiful and just defence of the Christians yet extant; insisting for less ambiguous orders, that none should be punished for the name of Christian; but only upon a fair trial, whether they were guilty of the crimes laid to their charge; and vindicating the Christians from them:

this, probably, procured them peace, during the rest of this reign.

THE Marcomanni and Quadi, assisted by the Sarmatians, Vandals, and other nations, made more terrible efforts than ever, attacked Antoninus's army, and put the Romans to flight, with a great slaughter of near 20000. but the Emperor rallied them at Aquileia, and defeated the enemy, and drove them out of all Pannonia.

ABOUT this time, the Moors ravaged Spain, and the shepherds in Egypt took arms, and gave the greatest disturbance to the Romans in that province; but both were quelled by the vigilance of the emperor, and the bravery of his lieutenants who commanded there; while he was heading the armies in the north; where he

forced at last the barbarous nations to submit to his own terms.

WHEN peace was restored, the Emperor was continually employed for the good of his people; making wise laws, for prevention of frauds, and the speedy administration of justice, and reforming all abuses; sharing his power with the Senate. he discovered the greatest penetration, as well as fidelity toward the public, in searching out and promoting men of ability and integrity, to all the great offices; and the greatest patience and constancy, in the administration of justice, and consulting in the Senate about public affairs; scarce ever losing one moment of his time. his assiduity was the more surprising, that his health had, for some years, been ex-

ceedingly impaired by the great fatigues he had endured. he was particularly inquisitive about the censures past upon his conduct; which he bore with the greatest meekness; his aim being only that he might reform whatever was amiss in it. he would admit of no lofty titles, nor that impious flattery of building altars and temples to himself.

THE old enemies of the Romans, the Marcomanni, watching their opportunity, when the Roman troops were diminished by a plague, and the treasury much exhausted, which the Emperor's compassion for his people kept very low, perfidiously renewed their hostilities. he supplied his treasury, by selling, under a clause of redemption, the most valuable move-

ables of his palace; and his army, even by employing the gladiators.

BEFORE he marched against the enemy, he lost his second son Verus, then seven years old; and bore it with such fortitude, that he omitted no public business on that account. this expedition proved more tedious and dangerous than any of the former. he at first gave them a defeat; having exposed himself to the utmost hazard; from which, the grateful love of his soldiers protected him. after the battle, the Emperor himself went to the field, weeping over the slain among the enemies, and endeavouring to preserve all that could be cured or relieved.

THE enemy, soon after, by skirmishing parties, feigning a flight, led

the emperor and his army into such straits amidst mountains, that they were inclosed on all sides, and could not escape; all the passes being possessed by the enemy. here they were like to perish with heat and thirst, deprived of all water. they made some vigorous efforts to force their way; but without other effect, than to convince them that they were reserved sacrifices to the fury of the barbarians. all the Emperor's efforts to rouse the spirits of the fainting soldiers, were vain. he is said to have committed himself and them to God, with the most ardent prayers; appealing to God for the innocence of his conduct in life. there were also many Christians in the army; employed no doubt, in like supplications to God. in the event,

clouds suddenly arose, and thunder, with a most plentiful shower; while all the lightning fell among the Barbarians: with this, the Romans take courage, and the enemy are dismayed. the Romans attack them in this confusion, and put them to flight, with great slaughter, enraged with the fresh remembrance of their late danger.

THE heathens ascribe this deliverance to the Emperor's piety; and the Christians universally to the prayers of the legion of Mitilene, which some ignorantly averred had on this occasion got the name of the Thundering legion. that name was given to this legion, in the days of Augustus, for a quite different reason, because they had thunderbolts engraved or painted on their shields. 'tis told in-

deed confidently, by Christian writers near those times, that the Emperor was advised by the captain of his guards, to employ the Christians of his army in prayer to their God, who, he said, refused nothing to their prayers; and that he did so, and found the surprizing event immediately answering upon their prayers; and that, in consequence of this, he wrote to the Senate, to stop all prosecutions against them, and give them full liberty for the exercise of their religion. 'tis not improbable, from these bold affirmations of Christians, so near the time of that event, that there has been such a letter; tho' the one now bearing that stile, is reputed by many to be a forgery. no doubt, such a letter

would be suppressed by an heathen Senate.

ANTONINUS pursued this war, with the greatest bravery, conduct, and clemency ; sometimes in the pursuits, going himself into the woods and marshes, where the poor Barbarians were lurking, and protecting them from the fury of his own soldiers. at last, he defeated them intirely, by many perilous encounters; and possessed himself of all their fortresses. he had added all these countries as provinces to the Roman empire, had he not been interrupted by the revolt of Cassius; and even forced to accept of less advantageous terms of peace from these Barbarians, than they had formerly agreed to.

THE Emperor's conduct in the

whole affair of this revolt, deserves to be more particularly related; as by it his temper, and the greatness of his soul, is more shown than by his glorious military achievements.

CASSIUS had been endeared to the army, by his early achievements in Armenia, Egypt, and Arabia. he was a man of great art, courage, and patience, but prodigal, and dissolute; tho' he could well conceal his vices. he revived the ancient strict military discipline, with great rigour, and kept the army sober, and constantly employed. on the account of these good qualities, Cassius was employed by the Emperor to recover the army quartered in Syria from their luxury, contracted under Verus; and he was much recommended by the Empe-

ror to the governors of these Eastern provinces. when he was thus promoted, he formed high designs, pretended to draw his pedigree from the old Cassius, and talked much of restoring the old common-wealth. Verus, before his death, had suspicion of his ambitious designs, from his conduct, and his jests upon Antoninus's studious disposition; and wrote his suspicions to Antoninus, warning him to prevent his designs against him and his children, by putting him to death. to which, this was Antoninus's answer.

‘ I HAVE read your letter; which
 ‘ shews more of an anxious and timo-
 ‘ rous spirit, than of that becoming an
 ‘ Emperor, and suits not my govern-
 ‘ ment. if the Gods have decreed him

‘ the empire, we cannot dispatch him,
‘ tho’ we would. you know your
‘ great grandfather’s proverb, “ no
‘ prince ever killed his successor.” but
‘ if ’tis not decreed him, he will perish
‘ without any cruelty of ours. there
‘ is no condemning a man whom no
‘ body accuses, and whom the army
‘ loves. and, then, in cases of treason,
‘ we are deemed to have injured even
‘ those persons who are fully convicted.
‘ you know what your grandfather
‘ Adrian used to say, “ the lot of
‘ sovereigns is hard, they are never
‘ credited about conspiracies formed
‘ against them, till they fall by them.”
‘ I cite him to you, rather than Domitian,
‘ the author of the observation;
‘ because the best sayings of Tyrants
‘ have not the weight they may

'deserve. let Cassius take his own
 'way; especially, since he is a good
 'general, keeps strict discipline, is
 'brave, and necessary to the state. as
 'for caution about my children, by
 'dispatching him, let my children pe-
 'rish, if Cassius better deserves the
 'love of the Romans than they, and
 'it be more the interest of our coun-
 'try, that Cassius should live, than
 'the children of Marcus.'

A. D. 175. CASSIUS, when he
 had formed the ambitious design, ei-
 ther raised a report of Antoninus's
 death, and that the army in Panno-
 nia had elected himself for Emperor,
 or took occasion, from this report, to
 assume the sovereign power. he gave
 all places in the army to his friends,
 and caused all to submit to him, from

Syria to mount Taurus. he sends a letter to his son at Alexandria, as a manifesto, inveighing against the corruptions in the administration, the extortions of the proconsuls and governors, and the decay of ancient rigour and severity of manners, under a bookish Emperor, who neglected public affairs; and concludes, 'let the Gods favour the Cassii, and the commonwealth shall regain its ancient dignity.'

MARTIUS VERUS, sent accounts of all these things to Antoninus; and he endeavoured to conceal them from the army; but, the matter was soon divulged: upon this, he addressed the army, (as Dion Cassius relates,) to this effect. he first expressed the deepest regret for the impending misery of

a civil war, the corruption of men, the ingratitude and perfidy, discovered by those to whom he had done the kindest offices, and in whom he had confided: but he exhorted his soldiers, not to imagine that all faith and integrity were gone out of the earth, he had still many faithful and brave friends: he had no fear of success; supported both by his own innocence, his knowledge of the dastardly disposition of these dissolute troops and nations who had revolted, and his experience of the fidelity and bravery of these he addressed. he subjoined the tenderest expressions of clemency and pity, even toward Cassius, and that preserving his life, and pardoning him, would be to him more joyful than any triumph.

HE wrote also to the same purpose to the Senate, which immediately declared Cassius a traitor, and confiscated his estate to the city, since the Emperor would not take it to himself. he wrote also to Faustina this letter.

‘ VERUS’s account of Cassius was
‘ true, that he designed to usurp. you
‘ have heard what the fortune-tellers
‘ have told him. come, therefore, to
‘ Alba, that we may consult about
‘ these affairs, without fear, under the
‘ protection of the Gods.’ she returned this answer. ‘ I will go to Alba
‘ to morrow, as you order; but must
‘ advise you, if you love your children, to extirpate these rebels. both
‘ the officers and soldiers, are grown
‘ very seditious. they will cut you off, unless you prevent them.’

FAUSTINA being detained, contrary to her expectation, the Emperor wrote to her to meet him at Formiae, where he was to embark, but she was detained at Rome, by the sickness of her daughter, and wrote him this letter.

‘ IN a like revolt of Celsus, my
‘ mother advised Antoninus Pius,
‘ first, to shew his tenderness and
‘ goodness to his own, and then to
‘ others. a prince cannot be deemed
‘ to have the just fatherly affection to
‘ his people, who neglects his wife and
‘ children. you see the tender years
‘ of Commodus. our son-in-law Pom-
‘ peianus is old, and a stranger. con-
‘ sider, then, how you ought to treat
‘ Cassius and his associates. don’t spare
‘ those, who would not, if they were

‘ victorious. spare you, nor me, nor
‘ our children. I shall speedily follow
‘ you. Fadilla’s sickness hindered me
‘ from meeting you at Formiae.——
‘ I shall send you accounts, if I don’t
‘ overtake you, what Cassius’s wife
‘ and children, and son-in-law, are
‘ talking about you.’

CASSIUS made all efforts to strengthen his party. he wrote a long letter to Herod, a man of good abilities, who commanded in Greece, and had fallen under Antoninus’s displeasure for some maladministration, to engage him to join against Antoninus. but Herod had such veneration for the emperor, that before he had read out all Cassius’s letter, he returned him this short answer; ‘ Herod
‘ to Cassius. You are mad.’

CASSIUS succeeded no better in soliciting some other provinces to revolt; and began to lose his credit with the army; and, at last, was dispatched by some of them, about three months after his revolt; and his head was sent to Antoninus, before he left Formiae, or had returned an answer to Faustina's last letter. on this occasion, he wrote to her thus. 'my dear Faustina, ' you shew a most dutiful concern for ' me, and our children. I have read ' your letters to me at Formiae twice ' over; pressing me to be severe toward the conspirators with Cassius; ' but I am resolved to spare his children, his son-in-law, and his wife, ' and shall write to the Senate, that ' they make no rigid proscription, nor ' any cruel punishments. nothing

‘ can more recommend a Roman
‘ Emperor to the love of all nations,
‘ than clemency. ’twas for this vir-
‘ tue that Caesar and Augustus were
‘ reputed divinities. this obtained your
‘ father the title of Pius. had the war
‘ ended as I would have wished, Cas-
‘ sius himself had not died. don’t be
‘ afraid. the Gods protect me. my
‘ fatherly affection to mankind must
‘ be acceptable to them. I have made
‘ Pompeianus our son-in-law consul
‘ for next year.’

SOME thought this clemency too
great. one used the freedom to ask
him, how he thought Cassius would
have treated him and his family, had
he been victorious? he replied, ‘ I have
‘ not served the Gods so ill, or lived
‘ in such a manner, that I had reason

‘ to fear the Gods would allow Cassius to conquer me:’ and counted over most of the Emperors who had been dethroned and assassinated; shewing, that their own tyranny or folly occasioned their fate.

OF his letter to the Senate, this part is yet preserved: ‘ in gratitude, therefore, for my victory, you have made my son-in-law consul; whose years seemed long ago to have claimed it; had not some brave worthy persons intervened, to whom that debt was first to be paid by the state. as to the revolt of Cassius, I beseech and obtest you, fathers, that, laying aside your rigour, you would act suitably to my clemency, and your own. let no Senator be put to death, or punished; nor the blood of any

‘ eminent person be shed. let the ba-
‘ nished return; and restore the estates
‘ of the proscribed. would to God
‘ I could recall to life many of the
‘ dead. I never can like an Emperor’s
‘ resentment of any injury aimed at
‘ himself. it appears too severe, even
‘ when very just. you must, there-
‘ fore, pardon the sons of Cassius, his
‘ son-in-law, and his wife. but, why
‘ say I pardon? they have committed
‘ no crime. let them live secure; and
‘ feel they live under Antoninus. let
‘ them live on the fortune of the fa-
‘ mily given up amongst them: let
‘ them enjoy their gold and silver
‘ plate, and furniture: let them live in
‘ wealth, and security; and at their
‘ full liberty to stay or go as they
‘ please; and carry with them, among

‘ all nations, the marks of my clemency, and of your’s. this clemency to the wives and children of the proscribed, Conscript fathers, is but a small matter. I must request you further: defend all the conspirators of the Senatorian or Equestrian order, from death, proscription, fear, infamy, popular odium, and all manner of vexation. allow it, for the honour of my government ; that, in this case of usurpation, those who were killed in the suppressing of the tumult, may be deemed justly slain.’

THIS letter was read with innumerable acclamations and blessings. the Emperor buried Cassius’s head decently, expressing no small grief for the loss of such a man. he marched immediately to the east: soon appea-

fed the revolt, with the greatest clemency; and reformed many abuses. when he came to Syria, he burned all the papers of Cassius without reading them, to prevent entertaining suspicions or hatred against any. some say, this had been done by his faithful friend Martius Verus, before his arrival; justly presuming, it would be pleasing to the good Emperor; and saying, if it was not, he could willingly die, to save the lives of so many of his fellow-citizens.

A. D. 176. FAUSTINA died in this expedition, near mount Taurus. the Senate, out of mean flattery, renewed their severity against the late conspirators; thinking it would be some alleviation of the Emperor's sorrow, to shew their zeal for him.

but, upon the first notice of it, he wrote the most pressing letter to the Senate, to stop these proceedings, concluding, ' If I cannot obtain from you the lives
' of all the conspirators, I shall wish
' to die.'

CASSIUS's eldest son Mecianus was killed in his government at Alexandria, on the very day in which Cassius was killed: his other children were only banished to an island; retaining all their estates. his daughter indeed, and son-in-law, continued in Rome; and were treated in a friendly manner by Antoninus. the Senate paid extravagant honours to Faustina. Antoninus, having settled the east, returned to Rome, after eight years absence; having extended his liberality to Athens, the old seat

of learning, heard Aristides the orator at Smyrna, and having been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries: on this occasion he gratified the Romans * with magnificent shews, and great liberality to the distressed.

THE peace of the empire was soon disturbed by new commotions in the North. the Scythians took arms again, and attacked the Emperor's lieutenants. and he, tho' old and infirm, resolved upon another expedition: nor could his friends of the Senate, who were exceedingly solicitous about his life, dissuade him from it. he spent three days in discoursing with them, and advising them about state affairs; and about the great principles of philosophy; and then set out for

* A. D. 177.

the army. in this expedition, his prudence and valour appeared invariably the same, and were always successful; tho' the particulars of the wars are not preserved. but, at Vienna in Austria, or at Sirmium, he was seized with a distemper; which, in a few days, put an end to his glorious life. when he apprehended there was no hope of his recovery, his strength of mind and resignation to the divine will, made him easy, as to his own death; but his affection to his country gave him considerable anxiety. tho' his son had not disclosed his vicious dispositions during his life, yet the examples of Nero and Domitian made him dread that any good instructions he had received, or any dispositions of his to virtue, would not be able to

withstand the temptations he would be exposed to in that dangerous elevation. he saw his Northern conquest very unsettled; and other provinces not sufficiently established. with all these cares oppressing him, his sickness and pains recurred more violently the last day of his life, and made him aware of his approaching end: upon this, he called for his principal officers, who stood around his bed: he presented to them his son; and, exerting all his strength, he sat up, and spoke to this effect.

‘ I am not surprized that you are
‘ troubled to see me in this condition.
‘ it is natural to mankind, to be moved with any sufferings of their fellow-creatures; and, when they are before our eyes, they excite a deep-

er compassion. but, you are under
more peculiar ties to me. from my
consciousness of the most sincere af-
fection to you, I presume you have
the like to me. now is the opportu-
nity, for me to discern that the ho-
nours I have conferred on you, and
the long series of kind offices done,
were not employed in vain; and for
you, to make grateful returns, and
to shew you have not forgot the fa-
vours you received. you see there
my son, who was educated by your
selves, just entring into manhood,
like a ship in a stormy sea, needing
prudent pilots; lest, being carried a-
side, through want of experience,
he be intirely shipwrecked among
vices. be you to him, therefore, so
many fathers in my stead; always

‘ watching over him, and giving him
‘ good counsels: for, no treasures can
‘ satisfy the luxury of tyrants; nor a-
‘ ny guards protect them, when they
‘ have lost the affections of their peo-
‘ ple. these princes only have had safe
‘ and long reigns, who have infu-
‘ sed into the minds of their people,
‘ not any dread by their cruelty, but
‘ an hearty love by their goodness.
‘ such alone, as obey with good-will,
‘ and not from necessity, are to be
‘ confided in, and will obey their
‘ prince, or suffer for him, without
‘ flattery and dissimulation; nor will
‘ such ever rebel, or prove refractory;
‘ except when they are forced into it
‘ by insolent oppression. in unlimited
‘ power, ’tis hard to set proper mea-
‘ sures or bounds to men’s passions.

' if you suggest such thoughts to him,
 ' and keep him in mind of what he
 ' now hears, you will make him an
 ' excellent prince to yourselves, and
 ' to all the state, and do the most grate-
 ' ful office to my memory ; as by this
 ' alone you can make it immortal.'

As he was thus speaking, his voice
 failed, he fell down on the bed, and
 died next day, in the 59th year of his
 age. never was there a more univer-
 sal undissembled sorrow, than what
 ensued among all ranks ; who loudly
 bewailed his death, with all possible
 encomiums of his virtues: all which
 were no more than his due ; and with
 the dearest appellations of their good
 Emperor, their general, their protec-
 tor, their father, or their brother.

THE only prejudices which can

obstruct the most favourable reception of these divine meditations, from the author's character, are these two: first, his continuing in the Pagan religion; even zealously sacrificing to false Gods, deifying his predecessor, and admitting the like honours to be paid to Verus and Faustina: and, secondly, his suffering the Christians to be persecuted, during his reign.

As to the first, tho' no man of sense can vindicate the Heathen worship; as it was full of ridiculous superstitions; without any proper evidence; yet, let us not imagine it worse in the wiser Heathens, than it truly was. Maximus Tyrius, and many others, assure us, that all wise men in the Heathen world, believed only one supreme God, or original cause of all.

we see that Antoninus, and all the Stoics, agreed in this. but they also believed there were many inferior created spirits, to whom the government of certain parts of nature was delegated by the supreme God; that the souls of some good men were advanced to this dignity; and that honours were to be paid to these presiding spirits, according to old traditions and custom. now this very doctrine generally prevailed, both in the Eastern and Western Christian churches, for many centuries; even from the 5th to the reformation; without any other difference than that of sound; the Heathens using the words God, or, Daemon, for what Christians called Angels, and Saints; and both often raised to this dignity, the souls of

persons, who had very little real virtue. the persons denoted by these names in the Heathen and Christian religions, were, indeed, different. the Heathens worshipped the old heathen heroes and princes, and the Christians their own heroes and martyrs. nay the protestants allow that created beings may have delegated powers from God, and be employed as ministring spirits to the heirs of salvation, in their several nations; and superintend the civil affairs of them. but, having no particular knowledge who these Angels or Saints are, nor how they are employed; nor any evidence that they can know our devotions, our prayers, or expressions of gratitude to them; and, seeing all such worship prohibited in the Holy Scriptures, as it gene-

rally has a bad tendency; they universally abstain from it, and condemn it. but the moral evil of such practices, in those who have had no prohibitions by revelation, is not so great as we commonly apprehend it. some men of little constancy in their conduct, who have been guilty of some very bad actions, have had also some eminent virtues not universally known. nay 'tis probable the vices of Faustina were never known to Antoninus; (See B. I. 14.) Verus too had his virtues; and many of his vices have been hid from our author. 'tis a small fault to err on the charitable side, about the dead. let us shew an impartial candour in this matter; remembering what mixed characters are recorded of some Jewish and Christian authors

whose works we read with veneration.

As to the second charge, of persecuting the Christians: let us remember, that we have no proof of his giving orders for it: we can only charge him with the omission of his duty, in not making a strict inquiry into the cause of the Christians: this, tho' a great fault, is less than that of the apostle Paul, who himself persecuted with great fury; and yet could afterwards truly say, he had served God with all good conscience; that is, sincerely, according to what he then thought his duty. to extenuate this fault in the Emperor, not to mention his perpetual avocations, by almost continual wars, beside the multitude of civil affairs in so vast an empire, let

us remember, that, whatever better knowledge the inferior magistrates might have of the matter of fact, the princes must generally have had only such views of the Christians as the zealot Pagan priests and magistrates presented to them. now, they were represented as a confederacy for the most monstrous wickedness; such as, the murdering of infants, and feeding on them, all incestuous impurities, avowed Atheism, the blaspheming all the Gods; and rebellion against the state. this last is the common charge, made by all persecutors, against such as differ from the established orthodoxy: as we see in all the defences of the R. catholic persecutions in France, and the protestant persecutions in England and Scotland; when

the clergy have once persuaded the legislator, impiously to invade the prerogatives of God, over the consciences of men, by penal laws about such religious opinions, and forms of worship as are no way hurtful in society.

UNDER these impressions of the Christians, a prince of great goodness might even directly order a persecution against them; not, indeed, without the guilt of a great omission of his duty; since he ought to have made a more thorough inquiry into the matter; and his ignorance could scarce be wholly invincible. but, his intention might be only the suppression of the most odious crimes, which he thought chargeable on the Christians.

BUT, grant he had persecuted the

Christians upon their religious opinions, their rejecting and reviling the Heathen Gods, and their rites of worship: let such as make this objection to his character, consider, that any persecution is the more odious, the smaller the difference is, between the religious tenets of the persecutor, and those of the persecuted; as it shews a greater insolence of pride and ill nature, to be so much provoked for such small differences; and it shews also the baser sentiments about the Deity, to conceive him so furious and captious, that the smaller mistakes in opinion or worship, can exclude his creatures intirely from his favour, and from all compassion or mercy, notwithstanding their hearty intention and desire

to please him, as far as they know what is acceptable to him.

NOW, the Christian religion was intirely opposite, in every thing almost, to the Pagan. it rejected all their popular Gods: nay, the early Christians averred them all to be impure devils, and that their worship was instituted by such devils; and refused any sort of joint worship with them. a devout Heathen, deeply prejudiced by education, in favour of these popular Gods, and confirmed by a philosophy which espoused a good deal of the popular superstitions, would be under strong temptations from his very devotion, while under these mistakes, to suppress Christianity: this is a great extenuation of the Emperor's guilt.

BUT, what shall we say of Christians persecuting each other, who yet believe in the same God, and the same Saviour, and own the same grand practical rules of life, of loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves! let none make this objection to Antoninus, but those, who, from their hearts, abhor all Christian persecutions, who cannot hate their neighbours, or deem them excluded from the divine favour, either for neglecting certain ceremonies, and pieces of outward pageantry, or for exceeding in them; for different opinions, or forms of words, about some metaphysical attributes or modes of existence, which all sides own to be quite incomprehensible by us; for the different opinions about human liber-

ty; about which the best men who ever lived have had opposite sentiments: for different opinions about the manner in which the Deity may think fit to exercise his mercy to a guilty world, either in pardoning of their sins, or renewing them in piety and virtue. as for these who are conscious of such sincere undissembled good-will to all, even those whom they think mistaken in such points; who have no partial attachments to their own parties, from prejudices of education, and their uniting in the same cause; no vanity or pride exciting any anger at the different opinions of others, opposite to what they in their own wisdom have pronounced sound and orthodox, and so detracting from their superior penetration, and dimi-

nishing their glory and popularity; those who find the simple, peaceful, meek, and humble love of truth alone influencing their sentiments, and a perpetual love to God, and a calm uniform charity operating in their hearts toward all men, even those who despise and affront their religious sentiments; persons of this character, may with some shew of decency, reject these noble devout sentiments, on account of the author's having persecuted, or suffered others to persecute during his reign. but such men will easily see, that these pious and charitable meditations and suggestions must be valuable for their own sakes, and useful to every attentive reader; whatever were the sins or failings of the author.

'TIS needless, I hope, to prevent another silly prejudice; as if because the author was not a Christian, he could have no real piety or virtue acceptable to God, none of these divine influences, which we are taught are necessary to every good work. no doubt, he is not to be defended in his neglecting to examine the evidences of Christianity, or, in not embracing it. but, let men consider the power of education, and how much he was employed from his very youth, in a constant course of public business, which allowed little leisure. how little probability could there occur to him, that, in a sect at that time universally despised, and represented, not only as weak and illiterate, but most horridly impious, immoral, and flagi-

tious, he should find any better instructions in theories of religion, or any better motives to virtuous actions, than what were among the philosophers? we see with what a just contempt of ease, pleasure, and luxury, he keenly embraced the scheme of philosophy most remarkable for piety, austerity, and disinterested goodness; and how long Christian magistrates, spirited up by the pretended ambassadors of the meek Jesus, have been persecuting their fellow-Christians with fire and sword; and that for very honourable tenets; often much better than those of the persecutors. let this be a warning to all men, against rashly entertaining ill-natured representations of whole sects or bodies of men. Christians may be asha-

med to censure our author on this account; considering how rashly, arrogantly, and presumptuously, they are cursing one another in their synodical anathemas; and in their creeds, pronouncing eternal damnation on all who are not within the pale, or hold not the same mysterious tenets or forms of words.

'TIS but a late doctrine in the Christian church, that the grace of God, and all divine influences purifying the heart, were confined to such as knew the Christian history, and were by profession in the Christian church. the earliest Christians and martyrs were of a very different opinion. however, they maintained that it is by the merits of our Saviour alone, men can either be justified or sanctifi-

ed; yet they never denied these blessings could be conferred on any who knew not the meritorious or efficient cause of them. to maintain they could not, is as absurd as to assert, that a physician cannot cure a disease, unless the patient be first instructed in the whole art of medicine, and know particularly the physical principles by which the several medicines operate. nay, the early Christians believed the spirit of Christ operated in Socrates, Plato, and other virtuous Heathens; and that they were Christians in heart, without the historical knowledge: and, sure, we may charitably judge the same of this Emperor, who plainly depended on God for such sanctifying influences; and recommends them as the matter of our most earnest prayers;

and often, with the deepest humility and simplicity of heart, * acknowledges that he owes to God's preventing grace, in his providence about him, all those virtuous dispositions, in which he had any delight or complacence.

* B. I. 14. B. IX. 40. B. IV. 26. and in many other places.

THE
MEDITATIONS
OF THE EMPEROR
MARCUS AURELIUS
ANTONINUS.

BOOK I.

I. **F**ROM my grandfather ¹ Verus I learned to relish the beauty of manners, and to restrain all anger. from the same and character

¹ ANNIUS VERUS, who | who was made a Senator under
had been thrice consul, and | der Vespasian.

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my ¹ father obtain'd; modesty, and a manly deportment. ² of my mother; I learned to be religious, and liberal; and to guard, not only against evil actions, but even against any evil intentions entring my thoughts; to content myself with a spare diet, far different from the softness and luxury so common among the wealthy. of my great ³ grandfather; ⁴ not to frequent public schools and auditories; but to have good and able teachers at home; and for things of this nature, to account no expence too great.

¹ Annius Verus, who died when Antoninus was a child.

² Domitia Calvilla Lucilla, daughter of Calvisius Tullus, who had been twice Consul.

³ Probably by the mother, viz. Catilius Severus.

⁴ 'Tis not certain whether the negative particle should be here or not.

2. HE who had the charge of my education, taught me not to be fondly attached to any of the contending parties ¹ in the chariot-races, or in the combats of the gladiators. he taught me also to endure labour; not to need many things; to serve myself, without troubling others; not to intermeddle with the affairs of others, and not easily to admit of accusations against them.

3. OF Diognetus; not to busy myself about vain things, not to credit the great professions of such as pretend to work wonders, or of force-rers, about their charms, and their expelling Demons; and the like. not

¹ The keenness of these | mans in that age, is abund-
contentions among the Ro- | dantly known.

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to keep * Quails, nor to be keen of such things; to allow others all freedom in conversation; and to apply myself heartily to philosophy. him also I must thank, for my hearing first Bacchius, then Tandafis, and Marci-
anus; that I wrote dialogues in my youth, and took a liking to the philosopher's little couch and skins, and such other things, which by the Grecian discipline belong to that profession.

4. To Rusticus I owe my first apprehensions, that my temper needed redress and cure, and that I did not fall into the ambition of the common Sophists, either in writing upon the sciences, or exhorting men to philosophy by public harangues; as also,

* For fighting, or incantations.

that I never affected to be admired by ostentation of great patience in an ascetic life, or of activity and application; and that I gave over the study of rhetoric, poetry, and the elegance of language; that I did not affect any airs of grandeur, by walking at home in my senatorial robe, or by any such things. I observed also the simplicity of style in his letters, particularly in that, which he wrote to my mother from Sinuessæ. I learned also from him an easiness and proneness to be reconciled and well pleased again with those who had offended me, as soon as any of them inclined to be reconciled; to read with diligence; not to rest satisfied with a light and superficial knowledge; nor quickly to assent to great talkers: him also I must

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thank, that I met with the discourses of Epictetus which he gave me.

5. FROM Apollonius I learned true liberty, and invariable stedfastness; and to regard nothing else, not even in the smallest degree, but right and reason; and always to remain the same man, whether in the sharpest pains, or after the loss of a child, or in long diseases. to him I owe my seeing in a living example, that it was possible for the same man to be both vehement and remiss, as occasion requir'd. I learn'd of him, not to fret when my reasonings were not apprehended. in him I saw an instance of a man, who esteem'd his excellent skill and ability in teaching others the principles of philosophy, the least of all his endowments. of him also I

learned how to receive from friends, what are thought favours, so as neither to be on that account subjected to them, nor yet seem insensible and ungrateful.

6. FROM Sextus a pattern of a benign temper, and of a family, governed with true paternal affection and a stedfast purpose of living according to nature ; to be grave and venerable, without affectation ; to observe sagaciously the several dispositions and inclinations of my friends ; not to be offended with the ignorant, or with those who follow the vulgar opinions without examination : his conversation was an example, how a man may accommodate himself to all men and companies ; for tho' his company was sweeter, and more pleasing than any

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sort of flattery, yet he was at the same time highly respected and revered. no man was ever more happy than he in comprehending, finding out, and arranging in exact order, the great maxims necessary for the conduct of life. he taught me by his example, to suppress even the least appearance of anger, or any other passion; but still, notwithstanding this perfect tranquillity, to possess the tenderest and most affectionate heart; and to be apt to approve and applaud others, and yet without noise: to desire much literature, without ostentation.

7. FROM Alexander the critic, to avoid censuring others, or flouting at them for a barbarism, solecism, or any false pronuntiation; but dextrous-

ly to pronounce the words as they ought, in my answering, approving, or arguing the matter, without taking direct notice of the mistake; or by some other such courteous insinuation.

8. FROM Fronto; to be sensible, how much envy, deceit, and hypocrisy, surrounds princes; and that generally those we account nobly born, have some how less natural affection.

9. OF Alexander the Platonist; not often, nor without great necessity, to say, or write to any man in a letter, that I am not at leisure, nor thus under pretext of urgent affairs, to decline or defer the duties, which, according to our various ties, we owe to those among whom we live.

10. OF Catulus; not to contemn

any friend's expostulation, tho' unjust; but to strive to reduce him to his former disposition: freely and heartily to speak well of all my masters, upon any occasion, as it is reported of ¹ Domitius, and Athenodotus; and to love my children with true affection.

II. FROM my brother ² Severus, to love my kinsmen, and to love truth and justice. to him I owe my acquaintance with ³ Thraseas, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, and Brutus. he gave me also the first conception of a republic, founded upon equitable

¹ There are no other memorials of these two persons.

² This either the philosopher Claudius Severus, whom he calls his brother from his strong love to him,

or some cousin whose memory is not otherways preserved to us.

³ These were eminent characters in the two preceding ages.

laws, and administred with equality of right; and of a monarchic government, which chiefly regards the liberty of the subjects. of him I learned likewise, to maintain a constant, disengaged, and uninterrupted study and esteem of philosophy; to be bountiful and liberal in the largest measure; always to hope the best; and to be unsuspicious about the affections of my friends. I observed in him a candid openness in declaring what he disliked in the conduct of others; and that his friends might easily see, without the trouble of conjectures, what he liked or disliked; so open and plain was his behaviour.

12. FROM Claudius Maximus; in all things to have power over myself, and in nothing to be hurried away by

any passion: to be chearful and courageous in all sudden accidents, as in sicknesses to have an easy command of my own temper; to maintain a kind, sweet, and yet grave deportment; to execute my designs vigorously without fretting, whatever he said, all men believed, he spake, as he thought; and that whatever he did, it was with a good intent. he taught me, not to be easily astonished or confounded with any thing, never to seem in a hurry, nor yet to be dilatory, or perplexed, without presence of mind, or dejected, fretful, angry, or suspicious; and to be ready to do good to others, to forgive, and to speak truth; and in all this, to appear rather like one who had always been straight and right, than ever recus'd or redress'd; nor

was there any, who thought himself undervalued by him, or who could find in his heart to think himself a better man than him: nor did he ever affect the praise of being witty.

13. ¹ FROM my father I learned meekness, and constancy, without wavering in those things, which after a due examination and deliberation were determined; to be little solicitous about the common honours; patience of labour, and assiduity, and readiness to hear any man, who offered any thing tending to the common good; an inflexible justice toward all men; a just apprehension when rigour and extremity, or when remissness and moderation were in season; abstinence from all impure lusts: and a

¹ Antoninus Pius, his father by adoption.

sense of humanity toward others. thus he left his friends at liberty, to sup with him or not, to go abroad with him or not, as they inclined; and they still found him the same, after their affairs had hindered them to attend him. I learned of him accuracy and patience of inquiry in all deliberations and counsel. he never quitted the search, satisfied with the first appearances, I observed his zeal to retain his friends, without cloying them, or shewing any foolish fondness; his contentment in every condition; his chearfulness; his fore-thought about very distant events; his exact care even about small matters, without noise. how he restrained all acclamations and flattery: how vigilantly he observed all things necessary to the govern-

ment, and managed accurately the public revenue, and bore patiently the censures of others about these things: how he was neither a superstitious worshipper of the Gods, nor an ambitious pleaser of men, nor studious of popularity; but sober in all things, stedfast, well skilled in what was honourable, never affecting novelties. as to these things which are subservient to ease and conveniency, of which his fortune supplied him with great affluence; he used them without pride, and yet with all freedom; enjoyed them without affectation when they were present; and when absent, he found no want of them. he was not celebrated, either as a learned acute man, or one of a sharp wit, or as a great declaimer: but a wise, experienced, com-

plete man ; one who could not bear to be flattered ; able to govern both himself and others ; I further observed the great honour he paid to all true philosophers, without upbraiding those who were not so ; his sociableness, his gracious and delightful conversation, without cloying. his regular moderate care of his body, neither like one desirous of long life, or over-studious of neatness, and elegance ; and yet not as one who despised it : thus, through his own care, he seldom needed any internal medicines, or outward applications : but especially how ingenuously he would yield without envy, to any who had obtained any peculiar faculty, as either eloquence, or the knowledge of the laws, or of ancient customs, or the like ; and how

he concurred with them strenuously, that every one of them might be regarded and esteemed, for that in which he excelled; and altho' he observed carefully the ancient customs of his fore-fathers, yet it was without ostentation. again, how he was not fickle and capricious, but loved to continue both in the same places and businesses; and how after his violent fits of the head-ach, he returned fresh and vigorous to his wonted affairs. again, that he neither had many secrets, nor often; and such only as concerned public matters: his discretion and moderation, in exhibiting of shows for the entertainment of the people, in public buildings, largesses, and the like, in all these things he acted like one who regarded only what was

right and becoming in the things themselves, and not the applauses which might follow. he never bathed at unseasonable hours; had no vanity in building; was never solicitous, either about his meat, or about the nice workmanship or colour of his cloaths, or about the beauty of his servants. his apparel was plain and homely, such as that he chose to wear at Lorium, cloath made at Lanuvium; and at Tusculum, he wore a short cloak, sometimes making apologies for the plainness of his dress. his conversation was far from any inhumanity; or incivility, or impetuosity; never doing any thing with such keenness that one could say ¹ he was sweating about it; but on the contrary, in all things,

¹ This was a proverbial expression.

he acted distinctly, as at leisure, without confusion, regularly, resolutely, and gracefully. a man might have applied that to him which is recorded of Socrates, that he knew both how to abstain from or enjoy those things, in want whereof most men shew themselves weak; and in the fruition, intemperate: he remained firm and constant in both events, with a just self-government, and shewed a perfect and invincible soul; such as appeared in him during the sickness of Maximus.

I 4. To the Gods I owe my having good grand-fathers, and parents, a good sister, good masters, good domesticks, affectionate kinsmen, and friends, and almost all things good: and that I never thro' haste and rashness offended any of them; tho' I had

such a temper as might have led me to it, had occasion offer'd ; but by the goodness of the Gods, no such concurrence of circumstances happen'd as could discover my weakness: that I was not long brought up with my father's concubine ; that I retained my modesty, and refrained from all venereal enjoyments, even longer than was necessary ; that I lived under the government of such a prince and father, who took away from me all pride and vain-glory, and convinced me, that it was not impossible for a prince to live in a court, without guards, extraordinary apparel, torches, statues, or such pieces of state and magnificence ; but that he may reduce himself almost to the state of a private man, and yet not become more

mean or remiss in those public affairs, wherein power and authority are requisite. that I have had such a brother, ¹ as by his disposition might stir me up to take care of myself; and yet by his respect and love delighted me; that my children wanted not good natural dispositions, nor were distorted or deformed in body; that I was no great proficient in the studies of rhetoric and poetry, and in other faculties, which might have engrossed my mind, had I found myself successful in them; that I prevented the expectations of those, by whom I was brought up, in promoting them to the places and dignities, they seem'd most

¹ Probably Verus, whose vicious passions might rouse this excellent man's attention to himself, or perhaps Antoninus did not know his

vices for a great part of his life, and 'tis certain Verus had a great esteem for Antoninus, and was a man of ability.

to desire; that I did not put them off, in the common way, with hopes and excuses that since they were but young I would do it hereafter. I owe to the Gods that ever I knew Apollonius, Rusticus and Maximus; that I have had occasion often and effectually to meditate with myself and inquire what is truly the life according to nature; so that, as for the Gods, and such suggestions, helps and inspirations, as might be expected from them, I might have already attained to that life which is according to nature; and it was my own fault that I did not sooner, by not observing the inward motions and suggestions, yea, and almost plain and apparent instructions of the Gods; that my body, in such a life, hath been able to hold out

so long ; that I never had to do with ² Benedic̃ta and Theodotus, yea, and afterwards, when I fell into some foolish passions, that I was soon cured ; that, having been often displeased with Rusticus, I never did any thing to him, for which afterwards I had occasion to repent : that since it was my mother's fate to die young, she lived with me all her latter years : that as often as I inclined to succour any who were either poor, or fallen into some distress, I was never answered by the managers of my revenues that there was not ready money enough to do it ; and that I myself never had occasion for the like succour from any other ; that I have such a wife, so obedient,

² These two persons are | have been remarkably dan-
unknown, 'tis possible they | gerous to the youth at court.

so loving, so ingenuous; that I had choice of fit and able men, to whom I might commit the education of my children; that by dreams I have received divine aids, as, for other things, so, in particular, how I might stay my spitting of blood, and cure my vertigo, which happen'd successfully to me at Cajeta; and, that, when I first applied myself to philosophy, I did not fall into the hands of some sophist, nor spent my time in reading many volumes, nor embarrassed myself in the solution of sophisms, nor dwelt upon the study of the meteors. all these things could not have thus concurred, without the assistance of the Gods and ¹ fortune.

THESE things in the country of the Quadi near Granua.

¹ See B. II. art. 3.

BOOK II.

SAY thus to thyself every morning:
 to day I may have to do with
 some intermeddler in other mens af-
 fairs, with an ungrateful man; an in-
 solent, or a crafty, or an envious, or
 an unfociable selfish man. these bad
 qualities have befallen them through
 their ignorance of what things are
 truly good or evil. but I have fully
 comprehended the nature of good as ¹
 only what is beautiful and honoura-
 ble; and of evil, that it is always de-
 formed and shameful; and the nature
 of those persons too ² who mistake

¹ This, according to the high style of the stoics, that virtuous affections and actions are the sole good, and

the contrary the sole evil.

² This is the meek sentiment of Socrates, that as all error is involuntary, so no

their aim ; that they are my kinsmen, by partaking, not of the same blood or seed, but of the same ¹ intelligent divine part ; and that I cannot be hurt by any of them, since none of them can involve me in any thing dishonourable or deformed. I cannot be angry at my kinsmen, or hate them. we were formed by nature for mutual assistance, as the two feet, the hands, the eye-lids, the upper and lower rows of teeth. opposition to each other is contrary to nature: all anger and aversion is an opposition.

2. WHATSOEVER I am, is either this ² poor flesh, or the animal spirit, or

man is willingly unjust or wicked in his actions: since all desire truth and goodness.

¹ The Stoics spoke of the rational soul, as a part

of the divinity, taken from that infinite intelligent æthereal nature, which pervades and surrounds all things.

² The apostle Paul al-

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ed in
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men
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beast
nal,
angel

the governing part. quit your books: be no longer distracted with different views. you have it in your own power. as one who is shortly to die, despise this fleshly part, this putrifying blood, and bones, and the net-work texture of nerves, veins, arteries. consider the nature of mere animal spirit or life, air, and that always changing, breathed forth and drawn in again. the third part is that which governs. think thus: you are now old; suffer not that noble part to be enslaved, or moved about by unsociable passions, with-

cludes to this notion in praying that we may be sanctified in soul, spirit, and body: many ancients conceived in men two principles distinct from the body, one the animal soul or life, like that in beasts, the other the rational, like the divinities or angels, in the former which

they supposed to be air, they placed all the sensations and passions. see B. III. art. 16.

1 A metaphor from puppets, mov'd by others. such are men when led by their passions against what their higher faculties incline to and recommend,

out its own approbation. repine no more at what now befalls you according to fate, nor dread what may befall you hereafter.

3. WHATEVER the Gods ordain, is full of wise providence. what we ascribe to fortune, happens not without a presiding nature, nor without a connexion and intertexture with the things ordered by providence. thence all things flow. consider, too, the necessity of these events; and their utility to that whole universe of which you are a part. in every regular structure, that must always be good to a part, which the nature of the whole requires, and which tends to preserve it. now, the universe is preserved, as, by the ¹ changes of the Elements, so

¹ The Stoics supposed | that aether condensed, pro-

duced
came
too be
was ra

by the changes of the complex forms. let these thoughts suffice; let them be your maxims, laying aside that thirst after multitudes of books; that you may die without repining, meek, and well satisfied, and sincerely grateful to the Gods.

4. REMEMBER how long you have put off these things; and how often you have neglected to use the opportunities offered you by the Gods. it is high time to understand what sort of whole you are a part of; and who that President in the universe is, from whom you flowed, as a small stream from a great fountain. there is a certain time appointed for you, which,

duced air, air condensed became water, and water thus too became earth: that earth

was rarified into water; water into air, and air into ether. and these changes were always going on in the universe.

if you don't employ in making all calm and serene within you, it will pass away, and you along with it; and never more return.

5. LET this be your steadfast purpose to act continually, in all affairs, as becomes a Roman, and a man, with true unaffected dignity, kindness of heart, freedom, and justice; and disentangle your soul from other solitudes. you shall thus disentangle yourself, if you perform each action as if it were your last; without temerity, or any passionate aversion to what reason approves; without hypocrisy or selfishness, or fretting at what providence appoints. you see how few these maxims are, to which, whoever adheres, may live a prosperous and divine life. if a man observe these

things, the Gods require no more of him.

6. GO on, go on, O my soul! to affront and dishonour thyself! yet a little while, and the time to honour thyself shall be gone. each man's life is flying away, and thine is almost gone, before thou hast paid ¹ just honour to thyself; having hitherto made thy happiness dependent on the minds and opinions of others.

¹ 'Tis one of the most ancient maxims or precepts, 'Reverence or stand in awe of thyself' which is the most remote from any encouraging of pride or vanity. it means, that men, conscious of the dignity of their nature, and of that temper of soul, and course of action which they must approve, should continually endeavour to behave suitably to their dignity, in preserving that temper, and practising

such actions, with a sincere simple view to answer the end for which God created them, with such dignity and such endowments; and be ashamed to act unsuitably to them. now, to be influenced by views of glory from men, is what Antoninus here reckons among the dishonours or affronts done to ourselves. see art. 16. of this book. and B. III. art. 6. and others.

7. LET nothing which befalls thee from without distract thee; and take leisure to thyself, to learn something truly good. wander no more to and fro; and guard also against this other wandering. for there are some too who trifle away their activity, by wearying themselves in life, without having a settled scope or mark, to which they may direct all their desires and all their projects.

8. SELDOM are any found unhappy for not observing the motions and intentions in the souls of others. but such as observe not well the motions of their own souls, or their affections, must necessarily be unhappy.

9. REMEMBER these things always: what the nature of the universe is: what thine own nature; and how

related to the universe: what sort of part thou art, and of what sort of whole: and that no man can hinder thee to act and speak what is agreeable to that whole, of which thou art a part.

10. THEOPHRASTUS, as becomes a philosopher, says justly, that in comparing crimes together, * (for in a popular style they may be compared) these are greater, which men are incited to, by lust, or desire of pleasure, than those which flow from anger. for the angry man seems to be turned from right reason, by a sort of pain and contraction seizing him unawares. but he who sins from lust, conquer'd by pleasure, seems more

* It was one of the paradoxes of the Stoics, that all crimes were equal, and | so no occasion for comparisons.

dissolute, weak, and effeminate in his vices. he says justly, and as becomes the dignity of a philosopher, that the crime committed for pleasure, deserves an higher censure, than that committed from the impulse of pain. one in the latter case seems like a person who is forced into anger by injuries first received; but one in the former, like him who first injures another, at the instigation of some lust of pleasure.

II. UNDERTAKE each action as one aware he may next moment depart out of life. to depart from men, if there be really Gods, can have nothing terrible in it. the Gods will involve you in no evil. if there are no Gods, or, if they have no regard to human affairs, why should I desire to live in a world without Gods, and

without providence? but Gods there are, undoubtedly, and they regard human affairs; and have put it wholly in our power, that we should not fall into what is ^{*} truly evil. were there any real evil in other things, they would have also put it in the power of man to have avoided them altogether. but how can that which makes not one a worse man, be said to make a mans life worse? and it could neither be from any ignorance, or want of power, to prevent or rectify them, when it knew them, that the nature presiding in the whole has overlooked such things. we cannot ascribe such gross misconduct to it, either from want of power, or want of skill, as that good and evil should

* That is, moral evil, or, vices.

happen confusedly and promiscuously, both to good and bad men. now, death and life, glory and reproach, pain and pleasure, riches and poverty, all these happen promiscuously to the good and bad. but as they are neither honourable nor shameful, they are therefore neither good nor evil.

12. 'TIS the office of our rational power, to apprehend how swiftly all things vanish. how the corporeal forms, are swallowed up in the material world, and the memory of them in the tide of ages. such are all sensible things, especially those which ensnare us by pleasure, or terrify us by pain, or are celebrated with such vanity. how mean, how despicable, how fordid, how perishable, how dead are they! what sort of creatures are they,

whose voices bestow renown? what is it to die? would one consider it alone, and by close thought strip it of those horrible masks with which it is dressed, would he not see it to be a work of nature, and nothing else? he must be a child, who dreads what it is natural. nay, it is not only a work of nature, but useful to nature. our rational power should apprehend, too, how a man is related to God, and by what part; and in what state this part shall be, when it returns to him again.

13. NOTHING is more miserable, says one, than he who ranges over all things, and dives even into things below the earth, and strives by conjectures to discover what is in the souls of others around him, and yet is not sensible of this, that 'tis sufficient for

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a man to dwell and converse with that ^{*} divinity which is within him, and pay it the genuine worship. it is then worshipped and honoured, when it is kept pure from every passion, and folly, and from repining at any thing done by Gods or men. whatever is done by the Gods, is venerable for its excellence. what flows from men, we should entertain with love, since they are our kinsmen; or, sometimes, with pity, as proceeding from their ignorance of good and evil. they are not less pityably maimed by this defect, this blindness, than by that which hinders them to distinguish between black and white.

^{*} Thus the Stoics call the rational soul, the seat of knowledge and virtue: deeming it a part of the divinity, ever pervaded, attracted, and inspired by it to all moral good, when the lower passions are restrained.

I 4. ¹ IF thou shouldst live three thousand years, or as many myriads, yet remember this, that no man loses any other life than that he now lives; and that he now lives no other life than what he is parting with, every instant. the longest life, and the shortest, come to one effect: since the present time is equal to all, what is lost or parted with is equal to all. and for the same reason, what is parted with, is only a moment. no man at death parts with, or, is deprived of, what is either past or future. for how can one take from a man what he hath not? we should also remember these things, first, that all things which have happened in the continued revolutions

¹ The first sentiment in this paragraph, is too subtle and frigid.

from eternity, are of the same kind with what we behold: and 'tis of little consequence, whether a man beholds the same things for an hundred years, or an infinite duration. again that the longest and the shortest liver have an equal loss at death. the present moment is all which either is deprived of, since that is all he has. a man cannot part with what he has not.

I 5. ALL depends upon opinion; as the sayings of Monimus make evident. the usefulness of his sayings appear, if one attend to his pleasantries, as far as truth confirms them.

I 6. THE soul affronts itself, when it becomes, as far as it can, an abscess or wen in the universe. fretting at what happens, is making itself an abscess

from that nature, which contains all other parts. again, when it has aversion to any man, and opposes him with intention to hurt him, as wrathful men do. and thirdly, it affronts itself, when conquered by pleasure or pain. fourthly, when it does or says any thing hypocritically, feignedly, or falsely. fifthly, when it does not direct to some proper end all its desires and actions, but exerts them inconsiderately, without understanding. whereas, even the smallest things should be referred to the end. now, the end of rational beings should be this, to follow the * reason and law

* By this country or state is understood the universe governed by God. the end therefore is acting the part		God has appointed to us by the constitution of our na- ture.
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of their most ancient and venerable city or country.

17. THE duration of human life is a point; its substance perpetually flowing; the senses obscure; and the compound body tending to putrefaction: the soul is restless, fortune uncertain, and fame injudicious. to sum up all, the body, and all things related to it, are like a river; what belongs to the animal life, is a dream, and smoky; life a warfare, and a journey in a strange land; surviving fame is but oblivion. what is it then, which can conduct us honourably out of life, and accompany us in our future progress? Philosophy alone. and this consists in preserving the divinity within us free from all affronts and injuries, superior to pleasure and pain, doing

nothing either inconsiderately, or insincerely and hypocritically; independent on what others may do or not do: embracing chearfully whatever befalls or is appointed, as coming from him, from whom itself was derived; and, above all, expecting death with calm satisfaction, as conceiving it to be only a dissolution of these elements, of which every animal is compounded. and if no harm befalls the elements when each is ¹ changed into the other, why should one suspect any harm in the changes and ² dissolution of them all? it is natural, and nothing natural can be evil. this at Carnuntum.

¹ Earth to water, water to air, air to fire, and so backwards.

² Perhaps he intends the universal destruction of this world. See X. 7.

B O O K III.

1. **O**NE ought to consider, not only, that, each day, a part of his life is spent, and the remainder grown less, but that it is very uncertain, tho' he should live longer, whether his understanding shall continue equally sufficient for his business, and for those theories which make one skilled in things divine and human. for if one begin to dote in these things, he may, perhaps, continue to breathe, to receive nourishment, to have vain imaginations, and exert the low appetites; but the true power of governing himself, of performing completely the duties of life, of considering distinctly all appearances which strike

the imagination, and of judging well this very point, whether he should depart from life or not, and all other powers which require a well exercised vigorous understanding, must be intirely extinguished in him. we should, therefore, make haste, not only because death is every day so much nearer, but because the power of considering well and understanding things, often leaves us before death.

2. THIS also should be observed, that such things as ensue upon what is well constituted by nature, have also something graceful and attractive, thus, some parts of a well baked loaf will crack and become rugged. what is thus cleft beyond the design of the baker, looks well, and invites the appetite. so when figs are at the ripest,

they begin to crack. thus in full ripe olives, their approach to putrefaction gives the proper beauty to the fruit. thus, the laden'd ear of corn hanging down, the stern brow of the lyon, and the foam flowing from the mouth of the wild boar, and many other things, considered apart, have nothing comely; yet because of their connexion with things natural, they adorn them, and delight the spectator. thus, to one who has a deep affection of soul, and penetration into the constitution of the whole, scarce any thing connected with nature will fail to recommend itself agreeably to him. thus, the real vast jaws of savage beasts will please him, no less than the imitations of them by painters or statuaries. with like pleasure will his chaste

eyes behold the maturity and grace of old age in man or woman, and the inviting charms of youth. many such things will he experience, not credible to all, but only to those who have the genuine affection of soul toward nature and its works.

3. HIPPOCRATES after conquering many diseases, yielded to a disease at last. the Chaldeans foretold the fatal hours of multitudes, and fate afterward carried themselves away. Alexander, Pompey, and Caius Caesar, who so often razed whole cities, and cut off in battle so many myriads of horse and foot, at last departed from this life themselves. Heraclitus, who wrote so much about the conflagration of the universe, died swollen with water, and bedaubed with ox-dung.

vermin destroyed Democritus, [the inventor of the atomical philosophy:] and another sort of vermin destroyed Socrates. to what purpose all this? you have gone aboard, made your voyage, arrived to your port, go ashore. if into another life and world, the Gods are also there: if into a state of insensibility; at least you shall be no longer disturbed by sensual pleasure or pain, or be in slavery to this mean corporeal vessel. is not the soul, which is often enslaved to it, much more excellent than the body? the soul is intelligence and deity. the body, earth, and putrifying blood.

4. SPEND not the remainder of your life in conjectures about others, except where it is subservient to some public interest: conjecturing what such

a one is doing, and with what view, what he is saying, what he is thinking, what he is projecting, and such like; this attention to the affairs of others, makes one wander from his own business, the guarding of his own soul. we ought, therefore, to exclude from the series of our thoughts, whatever is superfluous or vain; and much more every thing intermeddling and ill-natured; and enure ourselves to think on such things, as, if we were of a sudden examined, what are we now musing upon, we could freely answer, such or such matters: so that all within might appear simple and good-natured, such as becomes a social being, who despises pleasure, and all sensual enjoyment, and is free from emulation, envy, suspicion, or any other pas-

sion that we would blush to own we were now indulging in our minds. a man thus disposed wants nothing to entitle him to the highest dignity, of a priest and fellow-worker with the Gods, who rightly employs the divinity within him ; which can make the man undefiled by pleasure, invincible by pain, inaccessible to reproach, or any injuries from others: a victorious champion in the noblest contention, that against the passions: deeply tinctured with justice; embracing with all his heart whatever befalls, or is appointed by providence. seldom solicitous, and that not without some generous public view, what another says, does, or intends: solely intent on his own conduct, and thinking continually on what is appointed to him

by the governor of the universe. making his own conduct beautiful and honourable; and persuaded that what providence orders is good. for, each one's lot is brought upon him by providence, and is advantageous to him. remember, that, whatever is rational, is a-kin to thee, and that it suits human nature to take care of every thing human. nor ought we to desire glory from all, but only from those who live agreeably to nature. for others; still remember, how they live at home, how abroad, how in the dark, how in the light, and with what a wretched mass they are blended. thus, one won't value the praise of such men, for they cannot please or applaud themselves.

5. DO nothing with reluctance, or

forgetting the ' kind social bond, or without full inquiry, or hurried into it by any passion. seek not to set off your thoughts with studied elegance. be neither a great talker, nor undertaker of many things. and let the God within thee find he rules a man of courage, an aged man, a good citizen, a Roman, who regulates his life, as waiting for the signal to retreat out of it, without reluctance at his dissolution; who needs not for a bond of obedience, either the tie of an oath, or the observation of others. join also a chearful countenance, an independence on the services of others, a mind which needs not retirement

1 The Stoics always maintained, that by the very constitution of our nature, all men are recommended to the affectionate	good-will of all: which would always appear, were it not for the interfering of falsely imagined interests.
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from the world, to obtain tranquillity; but can maintain it without the assistance of others. one should rather appear to have been always straight and right, and not as amended or rectified.

6. IF you can find any thing in human life better than justice, truth, temperance, fortitude; or, to sum up all, than to have your mind perfectly satisfied with what actions you are engaged in by right reason, and what providence orders independently of your choice: if you find any thing better, I say, turn to it with all your soul, and enjoy the noble discovery. but if nothing appears more excellent than the divinity seated within you, when it hath subjected to its self all its passions, examined all appearances

which may excite them, and, as Socrates expresses it, has torn itself off from the attachments to sense; has subjected itself to the Gods; and has an affectionate care of mankind: if you find all things mean and despicable in comparison with this, give place to nothing else: for, if you once give way, and lean towards any thing else, you will not be able, without distraction of mind, to preserve the preference of esteem and honour to your own proper and true good. for it is against the law of justice, that any thing of a different kind withstand the proper good of the rational and social nature; such as the views of popular applause, power, riches, or sensual enjoyments. all these things, if we allow them even for a little to

appear suitable to our nature, immediately become our masters and hurry us away. but do you I say, with liberty, and simplicity of heart, chuse what is most excellent, and hold to it resolutely. what is most excellent is most advantageous. if so to the rational nature, retain it; but if only to the animal, renounce it. and preserve the judging power unbyassed by external appearances, that it may make a just and impartial inquiry.

7. NEVER value that as advantageous, which may force you to break your faith; to quit your modesty, or sense of honour; to hate, suspect, or imprecate evil on any one; to dissemble; or to desire any of these things which need walls or curtains to conceal them. he who to all things pre-

fers the soul, the divinity within him, and the sacred mysteries of its virtues, makes no tragical exclamations, complaints, or groans. he needs neither solitude nor a croud; and, what is greatest of all, he lives without either desires or fears of death. and whether the soul shall use this surrounding body, for a longer or shorter space, gives him no solicitude. were he to depart this moment, he is as ready for it, as for any other work, which can be gracefully, and with honour, accomplished; guarding in the whole of life against this alone, that his soul should ever decline, or be averse to any thing which becomes the rational and social nature.

8. IN the well-disciplined and purified mind you will find nothing pu-

trid, impure, or unsound. fate can never surprise his life unfinish'd, as one says of a tragedian who goes off before he ends his part: you will find nothing servile or ostentatious, or subjected to others by any partial bond; nor yet broken off from them, by any hatred; nothing which needs correction or concealment.

9. CULTIVATE with all care that power which forms opinions: all depends on this, that no opinion thy soul entertains, be inconsistent with the nature and constitution of the rational animals. our natural constitution and furniture is intended to secure us from false and rash assent, to engage us in kindness to all men, and in obedience to the Gods.

10. QUIT, therefore, other things,

and retain these few. remember also that each man lives only the present moment: the rest of time is either spent and gone, or is quite unknown. it is a very little time which each man lives, and in a small corner of the earth; and the longest surviving fame is but short, and this conveyed through a succession of poor mortals, each presently a dying; men who neither knew themselves, nor the persons long since dead.

II. TO the former subjoin this further rule: to make an accurate definition or description of every thing which strikes the imagination, so as to view what sort of thing it is in its own nature, and in all its parts considered distinctly; and give it, with thyself, its proper name, and to all the parts in its

composition, into which also it must be resolved. nothing is more effectual for giving magnanimity, than a methodical true examination of every thing which may happen in life, and while you consider them, to revolve at the same time, in what sort of regular universe they happen, for what use they are fit, of what importance they are to the whole, of what to man, the citizen of that higher city, of which the other cities and states are but as families. to examine what that is which affects the mind, of what compounded, how long it can endure, and what virtue it is fit to exercise; such as meekness, fortitude, truth, fidelity, simplicity, contentment, or the rest? we should therefore say of each event, This comes from God; this hap-

pens according to that destined contexture and connexion of events, or by conjunction with them in fortune; this comes from one of my own tribe, my kinsman, my friend, ignorant, perhaps, of what is agreeable to nature: but I am not ignorant of what is so; and, therefore, I must behave toward him with good-will and justice, according to the natural and social law. as to things ¹ indifferent, I pursue them according to their real estimation or value.

12. IF, in consequence of right reasoning upon natural principles you discharge your present duty with diligence, resolution, and benignity, with-

¹ Thus the Stoics call all the goods or evils of fortune, relating to our bodies or estates: which they allowed to have some value, or estimation, or importance, but would not call them absolutely good or evil.

out any bye views, and keep unviolated and pure the divinity within you as if just now about to restore it to the Gods who gave it: if you adhere to this without further desires or aversions, completely satisfied in discharging your present offices according to nature, and in the heroic sincerity of all your professions, you will live happily. now your doing this none can hinder.

13. AS ¹ physicians have always their machines and instruments at hand for sudden occasions, so have you always at hand the grand maxims requisite for understanding things divine and human, and for doing every thing, even the most minute, as aware

¹ The same person was | apothecary among the ancient
physician, chirurgeon, and | Greeks and Romans.

of the connexion between these two. for, neither will you rightly discharge any duty to men, nor any duty to God, if, at the same time, you regard not the connexion between things human and divine.

14. QUIT your wandering: for you are neither like to read over again your own commentaries and meditations, or the actions of the ancient Greeks and Romans, or the collections you have made out of the writings of others, which you have been storing up for your old age. make haste, then, to your proper end: cast away vain hopes; and speedily succour yourself if you have that care of yourself; you may at present.

15. MEN don't understand how many thing are signified by these

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words, ¹ to steal, to sow, to purchase, to be in tranquillity, to discern what's to be done. the bodily eye sees not these things: another sort of sight must discern them.

I 6. THE body, the ² animal soul, the intellectual. to the body belong the senses: to the animal soul, the appetites and passions: to the intellectual, the maxims of life. to have sensible impressions exciting imaginations, is common to us with the cattle. to be moved, like puppets, by appetites and passions, is common to us with the wild beasts, with the most effeminate wretches, Phalaris, and Nero,

¹ The Stoics made frequent use of these words metaphorically in their moral reasonings about the virtues and vices of their con-

duct, and the natural events in the universe. see B. IV, 36. for one instance.

² See above, B, II. art. 2.

with Atheists, and with traitors to their country. if these things, then, are common to the lowest and most odious characters, this must remain as peculiar to the good man; to have the intellectual part governing and directing him in all the occurring offices of life; to love and embrace all which happens to him by order of providence; to preserve the divinity placed in his breast, pure, undisturbed by a croud of imaginations, and ever calm and well-pleased, and to follow with a graceful reverence the dictates of it as of a God; never speaking against truth, or acting against justice. and, tho' no man believe he thus lived, with simplicity, modesty, and tranquillity; he neither takes this amiss from any one; nor quits the road

which leads to the true end of life;
at which he ought to arrive pure,
calm, ready to part with life, and ac-
commodated to his lot without reluc-
tance.

B O O K. IV.

I. **W**HEN the governing part is in its natural state, it can easily change and adapt itself to whatever occurs as the matter of its exercise. it is not fondly set upon any one sort of action. it goes about what seems preferable, with a proper¹ reservation, and if any thing contrary be cast in, makes this also the matter of its proper exercise. as a fire, when it masters

¹ The word here translated reservation, is a noted one among the Stoics, often used in Epictetus, Arrian, and Simplicius. it means this, that we be still aware that all external things depend on fortune, and are not in our power; and that our sole good is in our own affections, purposes, and actions: if therefore we meet

with external obstacles to our outward actions, we may still retain our own proper good; and can exert proper affections and actions upon these very obstacles; by resignation to God, patience under injury; goodwill toward even such as oppose us, and by persisting in any good offices, which remain in our power.

the things which fall on it, tho' they would have extinguished a small lamp: the bright fire quickly assimilates to itself and consumes what is thrown into it, and even thence increases its own strength.

2. LET nothing be done at random, but according to the complete rules of art.

3. THEY seek retirements in the country, on the sea-coasts, or mountains: you too used to be fond of such things. but this is all from ignorance. a man may any hour he pleases retire into himself; and no where will he find a place of more quiet and leisure than in his own soul: especially if he has that furniture within, the view of which immediately gives him the fullest tranquillity. by tranquillity, I mean

the most graceful order. allow your self continually this retirement, and refresh and renew yourself. have also at hand some short elementary maxims, which may readily occur, and suffice to wash away all trouble, and send you back without fretting at any of the affairs to which you return. what vice of mankind can you be chagrined with, when you recollect the maxim, that 'all rational beings were 'formed for each other;' and that, 'bearing with them is a branch of justice,' and that, 'all mistakes and errors are involuntary,' and 'how many of those who lived in enmity, 'suspicion, hatred, and quarrels, have 'been stretched on their funeral piles, 'and turned to ashes?' cease, then, from such passions. will you fret at

that distribution which comes from the whole, when you renew in your remembrance that disjunctive maxim: 'either it is providence which 'disposes of all things, or atoms;' or recollect how many have proved the universe to be a regular state, under one polity. or will you be touched with what regards your body, when you consider, that the intellectual or governing part, when it once recovers itself, and knows its own power, is not concerned in the impressions made on the animal soul, whether grateful or harsh. recall, too, all you have heard and assented to, about pleasure and pain. or shall the little affair of character and glory disturb you, when you reflect how all things shall be involved in oblivion; and the

vast immensity of eternal duration on
 both sides; how empty the noisy e-
 cho of applauses; how fickle and in-
 judicious the applauders; how nar-
 row the bounds within which our
 praise is confined: the earth itself but
 as a point in the universe: and how
 small a corner of it the part inhabi-
 ted: and, even there, how few are
 they, and of how little worth, who
 are to praise us! for the future, then,
 remember to retire into this little part
 of yourself: above all things, keep
 yourself from distraction, and intense
 desires. retain your freedom, consi-
 der every thing as a man of courage,
 as a man, as a citizen, as a mortal. have
 these two thoughts ever the readiest
 in all emergencies: one, that ' the
 ' things themselves reach not to the

‘soul, but stand without, still and motionless. all your perturbation comes from inward opinions about them.’ the other, that ‘all these things presently change, and shall be no more.’ frequently recollect what changes thou hast observed. the world is a continual change; life is opinion.

4. THE intellectual part is the same to all rationals, and therefore that reason also, whence we are called rational, is common to all. if so, then that commanding power, which shews what should be done or not done, is common. if so, we have all a common law. if so, we are all fellow-citizens: and if so, we have a common city. the universe, then, must be that city; for of what other common city are all men citizens? hence, therefore, e-

ven from this common city, we derive our intellectual power, our reason, our law; as my earthly part, is derived to me from some common earth, my moisture from some common element of that kind, my aerial part from its proper fountain, and the warm or fiery part from its proper fountain too. for, nothing can arise from nothing, or return into it. our intellectual part hath also come from some common fountain of its own nature.

5. DEATH is, like our birth, a mystery of nature; the one a commixture of elements, the other a resolution into them: in neither is there any thing shameful, or unsuitable to the intellectual nature, or contrary to the intention of its structure.

6. FROM such men such actions

must naturally and necessarily proceed. he who would have it otherwise, may as reasonably expect figs should be without juice. this, too, you should alway remember, that in a very short time both you and he must die; and, a little after, not even the name of either shall remain.

7. TAKE away opinion, and you have removed the complaint, 'I am hurt.' remove 'I am hurt,' and you remove the harm.

8. WHAT makes not a man worse than he was, makes not his life worse; nor hurts him either without or within.

9. 'TIS for some advantage in the whole, that nature acts in this manner.

10. IF you attend well, you will

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find that whatever happens, happens justly. I don't mean only in an exact order and destined connexion, but also according to justice, and from one who distributes according to merit. go on in observing this, as you have begun: and whatever you do, do it so as you may still remain good, according to the intellectual and true notion of goodness. observe this in all your actions.

I 1. DO not entertain such opinions as the man who affronts you has, or wishes you to entertain: but look into these things as they truly are.

I 2. YOU should always have these two rules in readiness; one, to act only that which the reason of the royal and legislative faculty suggests for the interests of mankind; the other, to be

ready to change your conduct, when any one present can rectify you, and make you quit any of your opinions. but let this change be always made upon some probable species of justice, or public utility, or such like; and not any view of pleasure, or glory to yourself.

13. HAVE you reason? I have. why don't you use it? when it performs its proper office, what more do you require?

14. YOU have arisen^d as a part in the universe, you shall disappear again, returning into your source; or, rather, by a change shall be resumed again, into that productive intelligence from whence you came.

15. MANY pieces of frankincense are laid on the altar: one falls, then

another. and there's no difference, whether sooner or later.

I 6. WITHIN ten days you'll appear a God to them, who now repute you a wild beast or an ape, if you turn to observe the moral maxims, and to reverence your intellectual part.

I 7. DO not form designs, as if you were to live a thousand years. death hangs over you. while you live, while you may, become good.

I 8. WHAT agreeable leisure does he procure to himself, who takes no notice what others say, do, or intend; but attends to this only, that his own actions be just and holy; and, according to Agathon, that there be nothing black or ill natured in his temper? he ought not to be looking a-

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round, but running on the straight line, without turning aside.

19. THE man who is solicitous about a surviving fame, considers not that each one of those who remember him, must soon die himself, and so must his successor a little after him, till at last this remembrance be extinguished, which is handed down through a series of stupid perishing admirers. grant your memory were immortal; and these immortal, who retain it; yet what is that to thee? not to say, what is that to the dead? but what is it to the living, except ¹ for some further view? in the mean time, you unseasonably quit what Nature hath put in your power, by grasping

¹ The Stoics denied | as it gave opportunities of
fame to be desirable, except | more extensive good offices,

at something else dependent on another.

20. WHATEVER is beautiful or honourable, is so from itself, and its excellence rests in itself: its being praised is no part of its excellence. it is neither made better nor worse by being praised. this holds too in lower beauties, called so by the vulgar; in material forms, and works of art. what is truly beautiful and honourable, needs not any thing further than its own nature to make it so. thus, the law, truth, benevolence, a sense of honour. are any of these made good by being praised? or, would they become bad, if they were censured? is an emerauld made worse than it was, if it is not praised? or, is gold, ivory, pur-

ple, a dagger, a flower, a shrub, made worse on this account?

21. IF the animal souls remain after death, how hath the aether contained them from eternity? how doth the earth contain so many bodies buried, during so long a time? as in this case the bodies, after remaining a while in the earth, are dissipated and changed, to make room for other bodies, so the animal souls removed to the air, after they have remained some time, are changed, diffused, rekindled, and resumed into the original productive spirit, and give place to others in like manner to cohabit with them. this may be answered, upon supposition that the souls survive their bodies. we may consider, beside the human bodies which are buried, the

bodies of so many beasts, which we and other animals feed on. what a multitude of them is thus consumed, and buried in the bodies of those who feed on them, and yet the same places still afford room, by the changes into blood, air and fire. the true account of all these things is by ^{*} distinguishing between the material, and the active or efficient principle.

22. DO not suffer the mind to wander. keep justice in view in every design. and in all imaginations which may arise, preserve the judging faculty safe.

23. WHATEVER is agreeable to thee, shall be agreeable to me, O graceful universe! nothing shall be to me

^{*} The author's sentiment here is not well known by the critics. some make the active principle to be merely the form.

too early, or too late, which is seasonable to thee; whatever thy seasons bear, shall be joyful fruits to me, O Nature! from thee are all things; in thee they subsist; to thee they return. could one say, 'thou dearly beloved city of Cecrops!' and wilt thou not say, 'thou dearly beloved city of God!'

24. 'MIND few things,' said one, 'if you would preserve tranquillity.' he might rather have said, mind only what is necessary, and what the reason of the creature formed for social life and public good recommends, and in the way it directs. and this will not only secure the tranquillity arising from virtuous action, but that also which arises from having few things to mind. would we cut off the most part of what we say and do, as

unnecessary, we should have much leisure and freedom from trouble. we should suggest to ourselves on every occasion this question; Is this necessary? but we ought to quit, not only unnecessary actions, but even imaginations; and, thus, superfluous actions, diverting us from our purpose, would not ensue.

25. MAKE trial how the life of a good man would succeed with you, of one who is pleased with the lot appointed him by providence, and satisfied with the justice of his own actions, and the benevolence of his dispositions.

26. YOU have seen the other state, try also this. do not perplex yourself. has any man sinned or offended? the hurt is to himself. hath any thing suc-

ceeded with you honourably? whatever befalls you was ordained for you, by the providence of the whole, and spun out to you by the destinies. to sum up all, life is short. you must make the best use of the present time, by a true estimation of things, and by justice: and retain sobriety in all relaxations.

27. EITHER there is an orderly well-disposed universe, or a mixture of parts cast together; without design, which, yet, make an orderly composition. or, can there subsist in thee a regular structure, and yet no regular constitution be in the universe? and that when we see such very different natures blended together, with conspiring harmony?

28. CONSIDER the deformity of

these characters, the black or malicious, the effeminate, the savage, the beastly, the childish, the foolish, the crafty, the buffoonish, the faithless, the tyrannical.

29. HE is a foreigner, and not a citizen of the world, who knows not what is in it; and he too, who knows not what ordinarily happens in it. he is a deserter, who flies from the governing reason in this polity. he is blind, whose intellectual eye is closed. he is the beggar, who always needs something from others, and has not from himself all that is necessary for life. he is an abscess of the world, who withdraws or separates himself from the reason which presides in the whole, by repining at what befalls: that same Nature produces this event

which produced thee. he is the seditious citizen, who ² separates his private soul from that one common soul of which all rational natures are parts.

30. ONE acts the philosopher without a coat, and another without any books; and a third half-naked. says one, I have not bread, and yet I adhere to reason. says another, I have not even the spiritual food of instruction, and yet I adhere to it.

² All vice is such a separation, as the Stoics define virtue to be 'an agreement' or harmony with nature' in our affections and actions. they tell us this nature is two-fold, the common nature presiding in the universe, or the deity, and the individual or proper nature in each one. we conform to the common nature, by ac-

quiescence in all events of providence, and by acting the part which the structure of our proper nature requires and recommends, especially the governing part of it, we at once conform to both the common nature and the proper; since our constitution was framed by God, the common Nature.

31. DELIGHT yourself in the little art you have learned, and acquiesce in it. and spend the remainder of your life, as one who with all his heart commits all his concerns to the Gods; and neither acts the tyrant or the slave, toward any of mankind.

32. RECOLLECT, for example, the times of Vespasian; you will see all the same things you see now. men marrying, bringing up children, sickening, dying, fighting, feasting, trading, farming, flattering, obstinate in their own will, suspicious, undermining their neighbours, wishing the death of others, repining at their present circumstances, courting mistresses, hoarding up, pursuing consulships and kingdoms: this life of theirs is past, and is no more. come down to

Trajan's days; you'll see the same things again: that life too is past. consider other periods of time, and other nations, and see how many, after their keen pursuits of such kinds, presently fell, and were dissolved into their elements. but chiefly represent to your mind those whom you yourself knew vainly distracted with such pursuits, and quitting that course which suited the structure of their nature, not adhering to it, nor contented with it. but you must also remember, that in each action, there is a care suited and proportioned to the importance of the affair: and thus you'll not be disgusted, that you are not allowed to be employed longer than is proper, about matters of less value.

33. WORDS formerly the most fa-

miliar are now grown obscure, and in like manner, the names of such as were once much celebrated, are now become obscure, and need explication; such as, Camillus, Cæso, Volesus, Leonnatus; soon after them, Scipio, Cato; and then Augustus; after him, Hadrian, and Antonine. all things hasten to an end, shall speedily seem old fables, and then be buried in oblivion. this I say of those who have shone in high admiration. the rest of men, as soon as they expire, are unknown and forgotten. and then, what is this eternal memory? 'tis wholly vain and empty. about what then should we employ our diligence and solicitude? this alone, that our souls be just, our actions social, our speech entirely sincere, and our disposition

such as may chearfully embrace whatever happens; as being necessary; as well known; and as flowing from such springs and causes.

34. RESIGN yourself willingly to your destiny, allowing it to involve you in what matters it pleases.

35. ALL things are transitory, and, as it were, but for a day; both those who remember; and the things, and persons remembered.

36. OBSERVE continually, that all things exist in consequence of changes. enure yourself to consider that the nature of the universe delights in nothing more than in changing the things now existing, and in producing others like them. the things now existing are a sort of seed to those which shall arise out of them. you

may conceive that there are no other seeds than those that are cast into the earth or the womb ; but such a mistake shews great ignorance.

37. YOU must die presently, and yet you have not attained to the ¹ true simplicity and tranquillity ; nor to that freedom from all suspicion of hurt by external things ; nor have you that kind affection toward all ; nor do you place your true wisdom solely in a constant practice of justice.

38. ² LOOK well into their governing part, and their cares, what things they study to avoid, and what they pursue.

¹ This simplicity is one constant stable purpose, or acting according to the will of God, that part he has pointed out to be good and suited to the dignity of our nature.

² This is designed to abate our desire of esteem from weak injudicious men ; not, to recommend a prying into the business or characters of others.

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39. THY evil cannot have its subsistence in the soul of another; nor in any change or alteration of the body which surrounds thee. where then? in that part of thee, which forms opinions concerning evils. let this part form no such opinions, and all is well. tho' this poor body, which is nearest to thee, be cut, or burned, or suppurated, or mortify, let the opinionative power be quiet; that is, let it judge that, what may equally befall a good man or a bad, can be neither good or evil. for what equally befalls one who lives according to nature, and one who lives against it, can neither be ^{*} according to nature, nor against it.

^{*} That is, such things are neither agreeable nor contrary to the nature of the rational soul, or the divine

part: nor are they either its good or its evil. but when one speaks of the whole animal, made up also of an a-

40. CONSIDER always this universe as one living being or animal; with one material substance, and one spirit; and how all things are referred to the sense of this spirit; and how it's will accomplishes all things, and how the whole concurs to the production of every thing; and what a connexion and contexture there is among all things.

41. 'THOU art a poor spirit, carrying a dead carcase about with thee,' says Epictetus.

42. THERE is no evil befalls the things which suffer a change; nor any good in arising into being from a change.

nimal soul and a body, these things are agreeable or contrary to this compound, and this the Stoics strongly as-

sert against the Pyrrhonists. see Cicero de finib. l. 3. c. 5. 6. but they would not call them good or evil.

43. TIME is a river, or violent torrent of things coming into being; each one, as soon as it has appeared, is swept of and disappears, and is succeeded by another, which is swept away in its turn.

44. WHATEVER happens, is as natural, and customary, and known, as a rose in the spring, or fruit in summer. such are diseases, deaths, calumnies, treacheries, and all which gives fools either joy or sorrow.

45. THINGS subsequent are naturally connected with those which preceeded. they are not as numbers of things independent of each other, yet necessarily succeeding; but they are in a regular connexion. and as things now existing are joined together in the most apposite contexture;

so, those which ensue, have not barely a necessary succession, but a wonderful suitableness and affinity to what preceeded.

46. REMEMBER always the doctrine of Heraclitus, that ‘ the ¹ death
‘ of the earth, is its becoming water ;
‘ that of water its becoming air ; that
‘ of air, its becoming fire. and so
‘ back again.’ think of ² him who forgot whither the road led him: and that men are frequently at variance with that reason or intelligence, with which they have always to do, and which governs the universe: and are surpris’d at those things as strange,

¹ See above, B. II. 4.

² This person or proverbial expression, is unknown. ’tis applicable to such as either live extempore, with-

out any fixed view or end in life: or to such as in pursuit of apparent goods, are involved in great miseries, by their want of consideration.

which they meet with every day. that we ought not to speak or act like men asleep; (for even in sleep we seem to speak and act;) nor like children; merely because we have been so instructed by our parents.

47. IF any God would assure you, you must die either to morrow, or the next day at farthest, you would little matter whether it were to morrow or the day after; unless you were exceedingly mean-spirited: for how trifling is the difference? just so, you should repute it of small consequence, whether you are to die in extreme old age, or to morrow.

48. CONSIDER frequently how many physicians, who had often knit their brows on discovering the prognostics of death in their patients, have

at last yielded to death themselves and how many astrologers, after foretelling the deaths of others, with great ostentation of their art; and how many philosophers, after they had made many long dissertations upon death and immortality; how many warriors, after they had slaughtered multitudes; how many tyrants, after they had exercised their power of life and death with horrid pride, as if they had been immortal; nay, how many whole cities, if I may so speak, are dead: Helice, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and others innumerable, then run over those whom, in a series, you have known, one taking care of the funeral of another, and then buried by a third, and all this in a short time. and, in general, all human affairs are mean,

and but for a day. what yesterday was a trifling embryo, to morrow shall be an embalmed carcase, or ashes. pass this short moment of time according to nature, and depart contentedly; as the full ripe olive falls of its own accord, applauding the earth whence it sprung, and thankful to the tree that bore it.

49. STAND firm like a promontory, upon which the waves are always breaking. it not only keeps its place, but stills the fury of the waves. wretched am I, says one, that this has befallen me. nay, say you, happy I, who, tho' this has befallen me, can still remain without sorrow, neither broken by the present, nor dreading the future. the like might have befallen any one; but every one could

not have remained thus undejected. why should the event be called a misfortune, rather than this strength of mind a felicity? but, can you call that a misfortune, to a man, which does not frustrate the intention of his nature? can that frustrate the intention of it, or hinder it to attain its end, which is not contrary to the will or purpose of his nature; what is this will or purpose? sure you have learned it. doth this event hinder you to be just, magnanimous, temperate, prudent, cautious of rash assent, free from error, possessed of a sense of honour and modesty, and of true liberty; or from meriting those other characters, which whoever enjoys, hath all his nature requires, as its proper perfection? and then, upon every occasion of sorrow,

remember the maxim, that this event is not a misfortune, but the bearing it couragiously is a great felicity.

50. 'TIS a vulgar meditation, and yet a very effectual one, for enabling us to despise death; to consider the fate of those who have been most earnestly tenacious of life, and enjoyed it longest. what have they obtained more than those who died early? they are all lying dead some where or other. Caedicianus, Fabius, Julian, Lepidus, and such like, who carried out the corpses of multitudes, have been carried out themselves. in sum, how small is the difference of time! and that spent amidst how many troubles! among what worthless men! and in what a mean carcase! do not think it of consequence. look backward on

the immense antecedent eternity, and forward into another immensity. how small is the difference between a life of three days, and of three ages like Nestor's?

51. HASTE on in the shortest way. the shortest way is that according to nature. ever speak and act what is most sound and upright. this resolution will free you from much toil, and warring, and artful management, and dissimulation, and ostentation.

B O O K. V.

1. **W**HEN you find yourself, in a morning, averse to rise, have this thought at hand: I arise to the proper business of a man: and shall I be averse to set about that work for which I was born, and for which I was brought into the universe? have I this constitution and furniture of soul granted me by nature, that I may lye among bed-cloaths and keep myself warm? but, say you, This state is the pleasanter. were you then formed for pleasure, and not at all for action, and exercising your powers? do not you behold the vegetables, the little sparrows, the ants, the spiders, the bees, each of them adorning, on

their part, this comely world, as far as their powers can go? and will you decline to act your part as a man for this purpose? will not you run to that which suits your nature? but, say you, must we not take rest? you must: but nature appoints a measure to it, as it has to eating and drinking. in rest you are going beyond these measures; beyond what is sufficient: but in action, you have not come up to the measure; you are far within the bounds of your power: you do not then love yourself; otherwise, you would have loved your own nature, and its proper will or purpose. other artificers, who love their respective arts, can even emaciate themselves by their several labours, without due refreshments of bathing or food: but

you honour your nature and its purpose much less than the turner does his art of turning, or the dancer does his art, the covetous man his wealth, or the vain man his applause. all these when struck with their several objects, do not more desire to eat or sleep, than to improve in what they are fond of; and do social affectionate actions appear to you meaner, and deserving less diligence and application?

2. HOW easy is it to thrust away and blot out every disturbing imagination, not suited to nature; and forthwith to enjoy perfect tranquillity?

3. JUDGE no speech or action unsuitable to you, which is according to nature; and be not dissuaded from it, by any ensuing censure or reproach of others. but if the speaking or ac-

ting thus be honourable, do not undervalue yourself so much as to think you are unworthy to speak or act thus. these censurers have their own governing parts, and their own inclinations, which you are not to regard, or be diverted by. but go on straight in the way pointed out by your own nature, and the common nature of the whole. they both direct you to the same road.

4. I WALK on in the path which is according to nature, till I fall down to rest, breathing out my last breath into that air I daily drew in, falling into that earth whence my father derived his seed, my mother her blood, my nurse her milk for my nourishment; that earth which supplied me for so many years with meat and

drink, and bears me walking on it, and so many ways abusing it.

5. YOU cannot readily gain admiration for acuteness: be it so. but there are many other qualities, of which you cannot pretend you are naturally incapable. approve yourself in those which are in your power, sincerity, gravity, patient diligence, contempt of pleasure, an heart never repining at Providence, contentment with a little, good-nature, freedom, a temper unsolicitous about superfluities, shunning even superfluous talk; and in true grandeur of mind. do not you observe what a number of virtues you might display; for which you have no pretence of natural incapacity? and yet you voluntarily come short of them. does any natural defect force

you to be querulous at providence? to be tenacious and narrow-hearted? to flatter? to complain of the body, and charge your own faults on it? to fawn on others? to be ostentatious? to be so unsettled in your purposes and projects? no, by the Gods! you might have escaped those vices long ago. one charge, perhaps, of a slow and tardy understanding, you could not well avoid; but in this, diligence and exercise might have helped the defect; if you had not neglected it, ¹ nor taken a mean pleasure in it.

6. THERE are some, who, when they have done you a good office, are apt to charge it to your account, as a great obligation. others are not apt thus to charge it to you, yet secret-

¹ The reading of the text here is uncertain.

ly look upon you as much indebted to them, and know sufficiently the value of what they have done. a third sort seem not to know what they have done; but are like the vine, which produces its bunches of grapes, and seeks no more when it hath yielded its proper fruit. the horse, when he hath run his course, the hound, when he has followed the track, the bee, when it has made its honey, and the man, when he hath done good to others, do not make a noisy boast of it, but go on to repeat the like actions, as the vine in its season produces its new clusters again. we ought to be among those, who, in a manner, seem not to understand what they have done. well, but ought we not, say you, to understand this

point? is it not the property of the social being, to understand that it acts the social part? nay, by Jove! to desire too, that its partners and fellows should be sensible it acts thus? what you say is true. yet if you misapprehend what I said above, you shall remain in one of the former classes, who are led aside from the highest perfection, by some probable specious reasons. but if you desire fully to comprehend what I said, do not be afraid that it will ever retard you in any social action.

7. THIS is a prayer of the Athenians, ‘ Rain, rain, kind Jupiter! upon the tilled grounds and pastures of the Athenians.’ we should either not pray at all, or pray with such sim-

plicity, and such kind affections of free citizens toward our fellows.

8. As, when 'tis said, that, Aesculapius hath prescribed to one a course of riding, or the cold bath, or walking bare-footed; so it may be said, that the Nature presiding in the whole, hath prescribed to one a disease, a maim, a loss of a child, or such like. the word 'prescribed,' in the former case, imports that he enjoined it as conducing to health; and in the later too, whatever befalls any one, is appointed as conducive to the purposes of fate or Providence. our very word for 'happening to one, is, to go together appositely, as the squared stones in walls or pyramids, are said by the workmen, to fall or join together,

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and suit each other in a certain position. now, there is one grand harmonious composition of all things; and as the regular universe is formed such a complete whole of all the particular bodies, so the universal destiny or fate of the whole, is made a complete cause out of all the particular causes. the very vulgar understand what I say. they tell you, 'fate ordered this event for such an one, and 'this was prescribed or appointed for 'him.' let us understand this even as when we say, 'the physician has ordered such things for the patient:' for, he prescribes many harsh disagreeable things; which, yet, we embrace willingly, for the sake of health, conceive, then, the accomplishing and completing the purposes of the uni-

versal Nature, to be in the universe,
 what your health is to you, and thus
 embrace whatever happens, altho' it
 should appear harsh and disagreeable:
 because it tends to the health of the
 universe, to the prosperity and felici-
 ty of Jupiter in his administration. he
 never had permitted this event, had
 it not conduced to good. we see not
 any particular nature aiming at or ad-
 mitting what does not suit the little
 private system, in which it presides.
 should you not on these two accounts
 embrace and delight in whatever be-
 falls you; one is, that it was formed,
 and prescribed, and adapted for you,
 and destined originally by the most
 venerable causes; the other, that it is
 subservient to the prosperity, and com-
 plete administration of that mind,

which governs the whole; nay, by Jupiter! to the stability and permanence of the whole. for, the whole would be maimed and imperfect, if you broke off any part of this continued connexion, either of parts or causes. now, you break this off, and destroy it, as far as you can, when you repine at any thing which happens.

9. DO not fret, despond, or murmur, if you have not always opportunities as you desire, of acting according to the right maxims. if you are beat off from them, return to them again; and content yourself that your actions are generally such as become a man; and rejoice in these good offices to which you return. do not return to philosophy with reluctance, as to a severe tutor, but as to your medi-

cine; as one who has tender eyes, flies to the ¹ sponge and the egg; as another flies to plaisters, a third to fomentation. you should require no more than being conscious that you have obeyed reason, and rest yourself in this. remember that philosophy requires no other things than what your nature requires. but you are often wanting something different. what can be easier and sweeter than these things, which are agreeable to nature? sensual enjoyments by their pleasure insnare us. but consider, can there be any thing sweeter than magnanimity, liberty, or self-command, simplicity of heart, meekness, purity? what is sweeter than wisdom, when you are conscious of success and security from

¹ A common medicine for tender eyes.

error in what belongs to the intellectual and and scientific powers?

10. THE natures of things are so covered up from us, that, to many philosophers, and these no mean ones, all things seem uncertain and incomprehensible. the Stoics themselves own it to be very difficult to comprehend any thing certainly. all our judgments are fallible. where is the infallible man, who never changes his opinion? consider the objects of our knowledge; how transitory are they, and how mean! how often are they in the possession of the most effeminately flagitious, or of a whore, or a robber! review again the manners of your contemporaries, they are scarce tolerable to the most courteous and meek disposition; not to

mention that few can well comport with their own manners, but are often angry with themselves. amidst such darkness and filth, and this perpetual flux of substance, of time, of motions, and of the things moved, I see nothing worthy of our esteem or solicitude. on the contrary, the hopes of our natural dissolution should be our consolation, and make us bear with patience the time of our sojourning among them: refreshing ourselves with these thoughts; first, that nothing can befall us but what is according to the nature of the whole: and then, that it is always in our power, never to counteract the Deity or Genius within us: to this no force can compell us.

I I. To what purposes am I now

using my animal powers? this should be matter of frequent self-examination: as also, what are the views and purposes of that governing part, as we call it? what sort of soul have I? of what character? is it that of a trifling child? of a passionate youth? of a timorous woman? of a tyrant? of a tame beast, or a savage one?

12. OF what value the things are, which many repute as good, you may judge from this; if one previously conceives the true goods, prudence, temperance, justice, fortitude, he cannot bear any thing attributed to them which does not naturally agree to the true kinds of good. but one thinking of what the vulgar repute as good, can patiently hear, and will with pleasure entertain as proper to the subject, that

known raillery of the comic poet. and thus even the vulgar conceive the preeminence of the former; otherwise, they would not be offended with the application of that jest to them, and reject it as unworthy of the subject. but we all relish that jest, when 'tis applied to riches, and all the possessions subservient to luxury, as being suitable to the subject, and humourously expressed. go on, then, and ask yourself, are these things to be honoured and reputed as good, which, when we consider, we can yet deem it proper raillery to apply to the possessor, the jest, ' that he has such a
' bundance of finery around him on
' all sides, he can find no place where
' he can ease himself.'

I 3. I CONSIST of an active, and

a material principle. neither of these shall return to nothing; as they were not made out of nothing. shall not, then, every part of me be disposed, upon its dissolution, into the correspondent part of the universe; and that, again, be changed into some other part of the universe; and thus to eternity? by such changes I came into being, and my parents too, and their progenitors, from another eternity. we may assert this, ' tho' the world be governed by certain grand deter-

* The Stoics seem to have believed a series of great periodical conflagrations, from all eternity, by which the material world and the grosser elements, were rarified and absorbed again into the pure aether, which they deemed to be

the Deity; and recreated again out of this eternal original substance: and that these alternate creations and conflagrations, were from eternity: and from the one to the other, was the great philosophic year.

mined periods of dissolution and renovation.

14. REASON, and the art of the rational agent, are powers which are satisfied with themselves and their own proper action, (without the aid of what is external or foreign to them.) they act from their internal principle, and go straight forward to the end set before them. the actions are called right, or straight, from their straight road to their end *.

15. NONE of these things should be deemed belonging to a man as his perfection, which do not belong to him as he is a man; which cannot be demanded of him as a man; which the structure of his nature does not

* Viz. acting according to our nature, be the external event what it will. see B. IV. 37.

undertake for; and which do not perfect his nature. the supreme end or happiness of man, cannot, therefore, consist in such things, nor be completed by them. did any such things belong to man as his perfection, it would never be a suitable perfection in him to despise and oppose them; nor would he be commendable for making himself independent of them, and not needing them. were they truly good, it would never be the part of a good man to quit or abate his share of them. but the more one remits of his share of certain things reputed good, the more patiently he bears being deprived of them by others, the better we must esteem the man to be.

I 6. SUCH as the imaginations are which you frequently dwell upon,

such will be the disposition of your soul. the soul receives a tincture from the imagination. tincture thy soul deeply by such thoughts as these continually present, that wherever one may live, he may live well: one may live in a court, and, therefore, one may live well in it. again, whatever one's natural structure and powers are fitted for, 'tis for this purpose he is designed; and by a natural impulse is carried to it; and his supreme end is placed in that to which he is thus carried. in this end consists his advantage, and his good. the good of a rational creature is in society; for, we have long ago demonstrated, that we were formed for society. nay, was it not manifest, that the inferior kinds were formed for the superior, and the

superior for each other? now, the inanimate are inferior to the animated? and the merely animated are inferior to the rational.

17. 'TIS the part of a mad-man to pursue impossibilities. now, 'tis ' impossible the vicious should act another part than that we see them act.

18. NOTHING can befall any

That is, during these their present opinions, dispositions, habits, and confused imaginations: all which they have fallen into according to that plan, which infinite wisdom originally concerted for the most excellent purposes; seeing it to be necessary, that there should be very different orders of being, some more, some less perfect; that many particular evils must be connected with the necessary means of incomparably superior good; that these imperfections and evils are prerequisite to the exercise	of the most divine virtues, in the more perfect orders of beings; which must be the ground of their eternal joy: and that many evils are even requisite means of reclaiming the less perfect beings from their vices, and setting them upon the pursuit of their truest happiness, such thoughts must repress ill-will and all anger against the vicious; but do not hinder our discerning the misery and deformity of vice. and a Stoic allows the vicious could refrain from their vices, if they heartily inclined to do so.
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man, which he is not capable by nature to bear. the like events have befallen others ; and they, either through ignorance that the event hath happened, or through ostentation of magnanimity, stand firm and unhurt by them. strange ! then, that ignorance or ostentation should have more power than wisdom !

19. THE things themselves ' cannot in the least touch the soul ; nor

* The Stoics, after Plato, seem to conceive the rational soul, in which, our judgments, opinions, and calm purposes of action subsist, to be a being or substance distinct both from the gross body, and the animal soul, in which are the sensations, lower appetites and passions. the rational soul, say they, is the man ; the seat of true perfection and happiness ; or, of misery ; and of a durable nature, capable of sub-

sisting separated from the other two parts ; and of commanding all their motions, during this union with them, or imprisonment in them ; capable of performing its proper, natural, lovely, beatific offices, independent of these lower parts ; nay, of making the adverse accidents, which befall them, the occasion, or matter, of its most excellent beatific exercises.

have any access to it; nor can they turn or move it. the soul alone can turn or move itself; and such judgments or opinions, as she condescends to entertain, such she will make all occurrences become to herself.

20. IN one respect, men are the most dearly attached to us, as we are ever obliged to do good to them: but in another respect, as they sometimes obstruct us in our proper offices, they are to be reputed among things indifferent, no less than the sun, the wind, or a savage beast; for, any of these may obstruct us in the discharge of our proper external offices; but, none of them can obstruct our purpose, or our dispositions, because of that ^{*} re-

^{*} See B. IV. 1. as also | ing section in this book.
the note upon the preced-

servation and power of turning our course. for the soul can convert and change every impediment of its first intended action, into a more excellent object of action; and thus 'tis for its advantage to be obstructed in action; and it advances in its road, by being stopped in it.

21. REVERENCE that which is most excellent in the universe; which employs all parts of it as it pleases, and governs all. in like manner, reverence that which is most excellent in yourself. now, this is of a like nature with the former, as it is what employs and directs all other powers in your nature; and your whole life is governed by it.

22. WHAT is not hurtful to the ¹

¹ This city is the universe. a mind entirely con- | formed and resigned to God, the great governour of this

state or city, cannot hurt the citizen. make use of this rule upon every conception of any thing as hurting you. if the city is not hurt by it, I cannot be hurt. if the city should receive hurt by it, yet we should not be angry at him who hurt it, but ¹ shew him what he has neglected, or how he has done wrong.

23. CONSIDER frequently, how swiftly all things which exist, or arise, are swept away, and carried off. their substance is as a river in a perpetual course. their actions are in perpetual

city, and persuaded of his wisdom, power, and goodness, cannot imagine any event to be hurtful to the universe; and when it is united in will with God, it must acquiesce in all that happens, and can make all events good to itself, as they

are occasions of exerting the noblest virtues, which are its supreme good.

¹ This is an impossible supposition, but the sentiment just, according to the Stoic opinion; see the note on art. 17. of this book.

changes, and the causes subject to ten thousand alterations. scarce any thing is stable. and the vast eternities, past and ensuing, are close upon it on both hands; in which all things are swallowed up. must he not, then, be a fool, who is either puffed up with success in such things; or is distracted, and full of complaints about the contrary; as if it could give disturbance of any duration?

24. REMEMBER how small a part you are of the universal Nature; how small a moment of the whole duration is appointed for you; and how ^r small a part you are of the object of universal fate, or providence.

^r And thence you will see how just and merciful it may be, to subject your little transitory interests, to

those of the great universe, and to that plan of Providence, which is fittest for the whole.

25. DOES any one injure me? let him look to it. he hath his own disposition, and his own work. I have that disposition, which the common president Nature wills me to have, and act that part, which my own nature recommends to me.

26. KEEP the governing part of the soul^{*} unmoved by the grateful or painful commotions of the flesh; and let it not blend itself with the body; but circumscribe and separate itself; and confine these passions to those bodily parts. when they ascend into the soul, by means of that sympathy constituted by its union with the body, there is no withstanding of the sensation which is natural. but let not the governing part add also its opini-

^{*} See art. 19. of this book.

on concerning them, as if they were good or evil.

27. WE should live a divine life with the Gods. he lives with the God, who displays before them his soul, pleased with all they appoint for him, and doing whatever is recommended by that divinity within, which Jupiter hath ¹ taken from himself, and given each one as the conductor, and

¹ The Stoics conceived the divine substance, to be an infinitely diffused and all-pervading aether, the seat of all wisdom, power and goodness: and that our souls

were small particles of this aether: and that even those of brutes were particles of the same, more immersed and entangled in the grosser elements.

Divinae particulam auræ.

HOR.

*Esse apibus partem divinae mentis, et haustus
Ætherios, dixere. deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum:
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum;
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas:
Scilicet huc reddi, deinde, et resoluta referri
Omnia——*

VIRG. Geor. IV. 220. see also,
Æneid. VI. 724 to 746.

leader of his life. and this is the intellectual principle and reason in each man.

28. CAN you be angry at one, whose arm-pits or whose breath are disagreeable? how can the man help it, who has such a mouth or such arm-pits? they must have a smell. but, says one, man has reason: he could by attention, discern what is injurious in his actions; [these may justly raise anger.] well, God bless you, you have this reason too. rouse then his rational dispositions, by your rational dispositions; instruct, suggest to him, what is right. if he listens to you, you have cured him, and then there is no occasion for anger. let us have no tragical exclamations against the vices and injuries of others; nor a base

concurrence with them, like that of harlots.

29. YOU may live at present in the same way you would chuse to be living, when you knew your death was approaching. if you are hindered to do so, then you may quit life; and yet without conceiving the quitting it as evil. if my house be smoaky, I go out of it; and where is the great matter? while no such thing forces me out, I stay as free; and who can hinder me to act as I please? but my pleasure is, to act as the rational and social nature requires.

30. THE Soul of the universe is kind and social. it has, therefore, made the inferior orders for the sake of the superior; and has suited the superior beings for each other. you

See how it hath subordinated, and coordinated, and distributed to each according to its merit, and engaged the nobler beings into a mutual agreement and unanimity.

31. [EXAMINE yourself thus:] how have you behaved toward the Gods, toward your parents, your brothers, your wife, your children, your teachers, those who educated you, your friends, your intimates, your domestics? have you never said or done any thing unbecoming, toward any of them? recollect through how many affairs of life you have past, and what offices you have been able to sustain and discharge. the history of your life, and of your ¹ public service

¹ Observe here the same divine sentiment with the Apostle; that whatever we do in word or deed, we should do it as to God.

to the Gods, is not completed. what beautiful and honourable things are seen in your life? what pleasures and what pains have you despised? what occasions of vain ostentation have you designedly omitted? toward how many perverse unreasonable creatures, have you ¹ exercised discretion and lenity?

3 2. WHY should the instructed, the intelligent, and skilful soul be disturbed by the rude and illiterate? what soul is truly skilful and intelligent? ² that which knows the cause and the end of all things, and that reason which pervades all substances in all ages, and governs the whole u-

¹ Here he is recommending not only forgiveness, but the returning good for evil.

² The knowledge of God and his providence, is the true wisdom.

niverse by ¹ certain determined periods.

33. PRESENTLY you shall be only ashes and dry bones, and a name; or, perhaps, not even a name. a name is but a certain noise or sound, or echo. the things most honoured in life are but vain, rotten, mean; little dogs snapping at each other; children squabbling and vying with each other; laughing, and presently weeping again. but integrity, modesty, justice, and truth, ² ‘from
‘ the wide range of earth have soar’d
‘ to heaven.’ what, then, should detain thee here? since all things sensible are in perpetual change, without any stability: the senses themselves but dull, and apt to admit false appearances: the animal life, but an ex-

¹ See above, B. V. 13. ² Hesiod. I. 195.

halation from blood: to have reputation among such animals, is a poor empty thing. why, then, should you not wait patiently for either your extinction, or translation into another state? and, till the proper season for it comes, what should suffice thee? to reverence and praise the Gods, and to do good to men, bearing with their weakness, abstaining from injuries, and considering external things subservient to thy poor body and life, as what are not thine, nor in thy power.

34. YOU may always be prosperous, if you go on in the right way, in right opinions and actions. these two advantages are common to Gods, to men, and every rational soul; one, that they can¹ be hindered by no-

¹ See above, B. V. 19. and B. IV. 1.

thing external; the other, that they have their ¹ proper good or happiness in their just dispositions, and actions, and can make their desires terminate and cease here, without extending further.

35. IF this event be neither any vice of mine, nor any action from any vicious disposition of mine, nor be hurtful to the whole, why am I disturbed by it. nay, who can hurt the whole?

36. DO not let your imagination hurry you away incautiously in any seeming distress of your friend. assist him to the utmost of your power, as

¹ Quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro talibus ausis,
Præmia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum
Dî, moresque dabunt vestri. AENEID. IX. 253.
Dî tibi, &c.
Et mens sibi conscia recti,
Præmia digna ferent. AENEID. I. 607.

far as he deserves in these ¹ indifferent sort of things; but, do not imagine that he has sustained any evil. there is no evil in such things. but, as in the ² comedy, the old foster-father asks from the child, with great earnestness, his top, as a token of his love, tho' he knew well it was a childish toy; just so, you must act in life about the toys which others value. when you are vehemently declaiming from the rostrum, should one say to you, 'What, man, have you forgot the nature of these things you are so keen about.' nay, say you, 'tho' I have not forgot it, yet I know these

¹ The Stoics called all external advantages or disadvantages, respecting the body or fortune, things indifferent, neither good, nor evil; but they allowed this difference among them, that

some were according to nature, and preferable; others contrary to nature, and to be rejected.

² This comedy is not known.

'are matters of serious concern to others,' and, therefore, you do well to act thus. but take care you do not in your own sentiments become a fool, because others are fools. you may so manage, that, in whatever place or time one comes upon you, you may be found a man of an happy lot. he has the happy lot, who distributes one to himself. the happy lots are good dispositions of soul, good desires and purposes, and good actions.

B O O K VI.

1. **T**HE matter of the universe is obedient, and easily changed: the intelligence, which governs it, has no cause in itself, of doing evil to any. it has no malice; nor can it do any thing maliciously; nor is any one hurt by it. it is the cause of all that happens, as it executes all things.

2. PROVIDED you act the part that becomes you, let it be of no account with you, whether you do it shivering with cold, or agreeably warm; whether drowsy through long watching, or refreshed with sleep; whether in good report, or bad report; whether by dying, or by any other action. for, dying is one piece

of the natural business of every living creature. 'tis sufficient, then, if it be well performed.

3. LOOK narrowly into things. let not the proper quality, or dignity, of any thing, escape your observation.

4. ALL things now existing shall speedily be changed, either^{*} by exhaling and rarifying, if all be one substance; or be dissolved and dispersed into the several elements.

5. THE governing mind in the universe, knows its own dispositions and actions, and the nature of that matter it is acting upon.

^{*} See above, B. V. 13. Others of the ancients believed, there were four original immutable elements, out

of which all compound bodies were formed, and into which they were resolved.

6. THE best sort of revenge, is, not to become like the injurious.

7. DELIGHT thyself in this one thing, and rest in it; to be going from one kind social action to another, with remembrance of God.

8. THE governing part is that which rouses, and turns, and forms itself, such as it chuses to be; and makes every event appear such to itself, as it inclines.

9. ALL things are accomplished by the Nature presiding in the whole; nor can they be influenced by any other, either surrounding it without, or contained as distinct within it, or externally annexed to it.

10. EITHER the universe is a confused mass and intertexture, soon to be dispersed; or one orderly whole,

under a providence. if the former; why should I wish to stay longer in this confused mixture? or be solicitous about any thing, further than ‘ ‘ how to become earth again?’ or, why should I be disturbed about any thing? the dispersion will overtake me, do what I please. but, if the latter be the case; then I adore the governour of the whole, I stand firm, and trust in him.

I I. WHEN you find yourself forced, as it were into some confusion or disturbance, by surrounding objects, return into yourself as speedily as you can; and depart no more from the true harmony of the soul, than what is absolutely unavoidable. you shall acquire greater power of retain-

* Homer, Iliad. 7. 91.

ing this harmony, by having frequent recourse to it.

12. HAD you, at once, a step-mother, and a mother; tho' you respected the former, yet your constant resort and refuge, would be the latter: such to you is the court and philosophy. return often to your true mother, philosophy; and refresh yourself: she will make the affairs of the court tolerable to you, and make you tolerable to those about it.

13. YOU may revolve such thoughts as these, about the nicest delicacies of sense: about food, this is the dead carcase of a fish, a fowl, a hog: about wine, this is the juice of a little grape: about your purple robes, this is the wool of a sheep, steeped in the blood of a little shell-fish: about venereal

enjoyments, they are the attrition of a base part of our body, and a convulsive sort of excretion of a mucus. these conceptions, touching so nearly, and explaining the nature of these subjects, how powerful are they to display to us their despicable value? thus we should employ the mind, in all parts of life: when things occur, which, at first, seem worthy of high estimation: we should strip them naked, and view their meanness; and cast aside these pompous descriptions of them, by which they seem so glorious. external pomp and high language, are great sophisters; and most impose upon us, when we are employed in matters commonly reputed of great dignity. remember † what

† This saying is not known.

Crates said, about the solemn gravity of Xenocrates.

§ 4. THE objects of vulgar admiration, may be reduced to some general classes. first, such as are preserved by mere cohesion, or, regular, but inanimate structure, or organization; such as stones, timber, fig-trees, vines, olive-trees. men, a rank higher, admire things preserved by an animal soul; such as flocks and herds. the admiration of a third and higher class of men, with a more elegant taste, turns upon what is accomplished by a rational soul; not as it is akin to the universal Spirit; but as artificial, and otherwise ingenious, and acute; and merely on this account. thus, numbers of ¹ slaves are valued. but he who

¹ Slaves were chiefly valued, according as they had

honours and admires the rational soul, as universal, and social, or public-spirited, in this universal city, he will despise these other objects of admiration; and, above all things, he will study to preserve his own rational soul, in these social dispositions and affections; and co-operate with those souls which are akin to it, in the same purpose.

15. SOME things hasten into being: some hasten to be no more: some parts of things in being, are already extinct. these fluxes and changes renew the world; as the constant flux of particular periods of time, ever present to us new parts of the infinite eternity. in this vast river, what is

genius for, and were instructed in the more elegant arts, painting, statua-

ry, sculpture, music, acting, and even medicine.

there, among the things swept away with it, that one can value; since it can never be stopped or retained? as if one should grow fond of one of the sparrows, as it flies by us, when it shall be immediatly out of sight. such is the life of each man; an exhalation from blood, [†] or a breathing in of air: and such as it is to draw in that air, which you are presently to breath out again every minute, such also is this whole power of breathing, which you received, as it were, yesterday, or the day before, when you were born; and must presently restore again to the source whence you derived it.

16. THERE is little valuable, either in perspiring, like vegetables; or breathing, as cattle, and wild beasts

[†] See B. II. 2. and the note upon it.

do; or in having sensible impressions made upon the imagination; or in being moved like puppets, by our several passions and appetites; or in mere herding together; or in being nourished. there is nothing in this superior to the discharging again what is superfluous of the food we have taken in. what, then, is valuable? to be received with claps of applause? not at all. nor is the applause of tongues more valuable. the praises of the vulgar are nothing but the noise of tongues. if you have, then, quit the pursuit of this trifling sort of glory, what remains as valuable? this one thing, I imagine, ¹ to move, or stop yourself, in all desires or pursuits, according to the proper fabric or struc-

¹ See IX. 12.

ture of your nature: for, this is what all design and art is tending to; this is all its aim, that the thing formed by art, should be adapted to the work it is designed for. this, the planter, and the vine-dresser, the horse-rider, and the breeder of the hound, are in quest of. at what does all education and instruction aim? in this, therefore, is placed all that is valuable. if you succeed well in this, you need not be solicitous to acquire any thing further. will not you, then, cease to value other things? if you do not, you will never attain to freedom, self-contentment, independency, or tranquillity: for, you must be enviously and suspiciously vying with those who can deprive you of such things as you highly value; laying snares for those

who possess them; and pining with vexation, when you want them; and even accusing the Gods. but, the ¹ reverencing and honouring your own intellectual part, will make you agreeable to yourself, harmonious with your fellows, and in a perfect concord with the Gods; praising whatsoever they distribute or appoint to men.

17. THE elements are tossed upwards, downwards, and all around. the motions of virtue are like none of these; but are of a more divine sort; going on in a way not easily discerned, and ² ever prosperous.

18. WHAT strange conduct is this! some men cannot speak a good word of their contemporaries, with

¹ B. II. 6. and the note upon it.

² B. IV. 37. and B. V. 14. and 19. and the notes.

whom they live; [and, one would thence imagine, they could not value being praised by them;] and yet are very solicitous, about gaining the praises of posterity, whom they never saw, nor shall see. this seems as foolish, as to be concerned that we cannot obtain the praises of the ages which preceeded our existence.

19. IF any thing seems exceedingly difficult for you to accomplish, do not conclude it to be impossible to all men: but rather, if you see any thing possible to man, and a part of his proper work, conclude that you also may attain to it.

20. IF, in the exercises, one has torn us with his nails, or bruised us accidentally with his head, we express no resentment; we are not offended;

nor do we suspect him for the future, as a person secretly designing our destruction: and yet we are on our guard against him; not as an enemy, or a person suspected; but with a good-natured caution, for our own safety. let us thus behave in all parts of life, and conceive many things thus done, as in the exercises. let us, as I said, be upon our guard; but without suspicion or enmity.

21. IF any one can convince me, or shew me, that my sentiments, or conduct, has been wrong; I will joyfully alter them. 'tis truth I am searching for, which never hurts any man. but men are often hurt, by remaining in error and ignorance.

22. I ENDEAVOUR, to do my duty, and what becomes me. other

things do not give me solicitude: they are either inanimate, or irrational; or wandering from the right way, and ignorant of it.

23. I ENDEAVOUR, as one possessed of reason, to use the brute animals, and all other irrational objects, with magnanimity and freedom; and to act the kind and social part, toward my fellow-men; who enjoy reason as I do. in all things, implore the assistance of the Gods; and repute it of no consequence, for what space of time you shall continue thus employed. three hours of such a life is sufficient. [as well as the three ages of Nestor.]

24. ALEXANDER of Macedon, and his muleteer, when they died, were in a like condition. they were

either ¹ resumed into the original productive causes of all things, or ² dispersed into the atoms.

25. CONSIDER, how many different things are done, in each one of our bodies; and in our souls too, in the very same moment; and you will the less wonder, that far more, nay, that all things which now happen, at once exist in this one universal system, we call the world.

¹ The Stoics spoke doubtfully about a future state, whether the rational souls subsisted as separated intelligences, or were absorbed in the Divinity. many believed a separate existence of good souls for a thousand years, and of the eminently virtuous, for eternity, in the dignity of Gods, which we would call that of angels, with delegated powers of governing certain parts of the universe.

² This latter branch, is the Epicurean doctrine, which

the Stoics opposed. but they, and the Platonists too, imitating Socrates's manner, generally propose this alternative, to shew that, at the very worst, there is no evil in death; that all external things are but mean, since they are of short duration, and are no preservatives against death. and they endeavoured to make virtue eligible, from the very feelings of the heart, abstracting from these their uncertain tenets about futurity.

26. SHOULD one desire you to spell the name Antoninus, would you not distinctly pronounce to him each one of the letters? should he turn into any angry dispute about it, would you also turn angry, and not rather mildly count over the several letters to him? thus, in our present business, our duty consists of a great many numbers, or elements: [according to the many different relations and obligations of each person:] ought we not to observe all these calmly; and, without anger at those who are angry with us, go straight on in executing what is our present business?

27. IS it not cruel, to restrain men from desiring, or pursuing, what appears to them as their proper good or advantage? and yet you seem charge-

able in a certain manner with this conduct, when you are angry at the mistakes, and wrong actions of men: for, all are carried toward what appears to them their proper good. but, say you, it is not their proper good. well: instruct them, then, and teach them better, and do not be angry with them.

28. DEATH is the cessation of the sensual impressions, of the impulses of the appetites and passions, of the toilsome reasonings, and of the servitude to the flesh.

29. 'TIS very dishonourable in life, that the soul should fail and desert its duty; while the body can hold out, and sustain its part.

30. TAKE care you do not degenerate into the manners of the Cæsars, or be tinged by them. pre-

serve your simplicity of manners, goodness, integrity, gravity, freedom from ostentation, love of justice, piety, good-nature, kind affection, steadfast firmness in your duty. endeavour earnestly to continue such as philosophy requires you to be. reverence the Gods, support the interests of mankind. life is short. the sole enjoyment of this terrestrial life, is in the purity and holiness of our dispositions, and in kind actions. act as it becomes the scholar of Antoninus Pius. imitate his constant resolute tenor of rational actions; his equability on all occasions; his sanctity; his serenity of countenance; his sweetness of temper; his contempt of vain glory; and his close attention in examining every thing. remember how

he never quitted any subject, till he had thoroughly examined it, and understood it; and how he bore those who accused him unjustly, without making any angry returns; how he was ever calm without hurry; how he discouraged all accusations; how accurately he inquired into the manners and actions of men; how cautious he was of reproaching any; how free from fear, suspicion, or sophistry; how he was contented with a little, as to his habitation, furniture, dress, table, attendants; how patient he was of labour; how hard to be provoked; he could persist in business till the evening, without easing himself, through his great abstemiousness; how steadfast and evenly he was in his conduct to his friends; and patient of their op-

position to his sentiments; and how joyfully he received any better informations from them; how religious he was, without superstitious dread: that thus the hour of death may come upon you, well aware of it, and prepared to meet it; as it came on him.

31. A WAKE, and call yourself up; and, as you see, when you are fully roused, that these were but dreams which disturbed you; so, when you are awake in the business of life, consider the things which may disturb you, as of a like nature with those which disturbed you in sleep.

32. I CONSIST of a mean body, and a soul. to the body all things are indifferent; for, it cannot distinguish them; and, to the intellectual part, all things are indifferent, which are not

its own operations; and all its own operations are in its power; and of these, it is only affected by what are present. its past and future operations are to it now indifferent.

33. LABOUR is not contrary to the nature of the hand, or the foot; while the hand is doing the proper work of an hand, and the foot what is proper to the foot. no more is labour contrary to the nature of man, as he is man; while he is doing what suits the nature of a man; and if it be not contrary to his nature, it cannot be evil to him.

34. WHAT great sensual enjoyments may be obtained by robbers, by the most infamously dissolute, by parricides, by tyrants? [can the happiness of man consist in them?]

35. DO not you see, how common artificers, tho' they may comply to a certain length with the unskilful, yet still adhere to the rules of their art, and cannot endure to depart from them? is it not grievous, that the architect, or the phyfician, should shew a greater reverence to the rules of their peculiar arts, than the man [as he is rational] shews to the rules of human life; rules which are common to him with the Gods?

36. ASIA, Europe, are but little corners of the universe: the whole ocean is but a drop of it: Athos but a little clod. all the time of this present age is but a point of eternity. all things are but little, changeable, and presently to vanish. all things proceed from the universal governing mind, either

by direct and primary intention, or by necessary consequence and connexion with things primarily intended. thus, the horrid jaws of the lion, poisons, and whatever is pernicious, as thorns, as mire, are the consequences of those venerable and lovely things you admire. do not, therefore, imagine them foreign to that constitution of nature which you reverence; but consider well the fountain of all things.

37. HE who sees things present, has seen all things which either have been from eternity, or shall be to eternity; for, all are of the like nature, and similar.

38. CONSIDER frequently the connexion of all things in the universe, and the relation they bear to each o-

ther. all things are, as it were, entangled with each other, and are, therefore, mutually friendly. this is a natural consequence, or, in a natural series, with the other; either by connexion of place, or mutual conspiring to the same end, or by continuity of substance.

39. ADAPT thyself to those things which are destined for you by Providence, and love those men, with whom it is your lot to live, and that with a sincere affection.

40. AN instrument, a tool, an utensil, is then right when it is fit for its work; even tho' the artificer who formed it be gone. but, in the artful works of nature, the artificial power which formed them, remains and resides within them. you ought, therefore,

to reverence them the more; and to judge, that, if you are disposed, and conduct yourself according to the intention of this artificial power which formed you, all things are as you should wish. thus, all things are to the whole, according to its inclination.

41. WHENEVER you imagine, any of these things which are not in your power, are good or evil to you; if you fall into such imagined evils, or are disappointed of such goods, [†] you must necessarily accuse the Gods, and hate those men, who, you deem, were the causes, or suspect will be causes of such misfortunes. our solicitude about such things, leads to a great deal of injustice. but, if we judge only the things in our power, to be good or e-

[†] IX. I.

vil, there remains no further cause of accusing the Gods, or of any hostile disposition against men.

42. WE are all co-operating to one great work, [the intention of the universal mind in the world;] some, with knowledge and understanding, others, ignorantly, and undesignedly. thus, I fancy, Heraclitus says, that 'men asleep are also then labouring,' accomplishing, on their part, the events of the universe. one contributes to this one way, and another, another way. nay, what is beyond expectation, even the querulous and the murmurers, who attempt to oppose the course of nature, and to obstruct what happens, contribute also to this purpose: for, ¹ the world must needs

¹ IX. 42.

have within it such persons also. think, then, in what class you would wish to rank yourself. the presiding mind will certainly make a right use of you, one way or other; and will inlist you among his labourers and fellow-workers. do not chuse to be such a part, as, Chrysippus says, a silly ridiculous sentiment expressed by a fool in a comedy makes, which, ‘ of its self is ‘ very silly and vicious, but yet is an ‘ agreeable part in the play.’

43. DOES the sun affect to perform the work of the rain, or Aesculapius that of Ceres? the several stars, too, have they not different courses, but all jointly contributing to the same end?

44. IF the Gods have taken counsel about me, and the things to befall

me, the result of their counsel is certainly good. a God without counsel and providence is unconceivable; and, what could move them to do me any mischief? what advantage could thence accrue, either to themselves, or to the universe, about which they are chiefly concerned? if they have not taken counsel about me in particular, they certainly have about the common interest of the universe. I ought, therefore, to love, and cheerfully embrace, that which happens in consequence of what is well ordered for the universe. if, indeed, they take no counsel about any thing; which it would be impious to believe; for, then, we might quit sacrificing, prayers, and swearing by them, and all acts of devotion; which we now

perform, from a persuasion of their presence, and concern in the affairs of human life: but, grant they took no thought about our affairs; yet, certainly, I may deliberate about myself. my deliberation must be about my true interest. now, that is the true interest of every one, which is agreeable to the structure of his nature. my natural constitution is that of a rational being, fitted for civil society. my city and country, as I am Antoninus, is Rome; but, as I am a man, 'tis the universe. that alone, therefore, which is profitable to those cities, can be good to me.

45. WHATEVER happens to any one, is profitable to the whole. this is enough. but, if you attend, you will see this also holds universally;

that, what happens to any one man, is profitable also to others. let the word profitable be ¹ taken, here, in a more popular sense, to relate to things indifferent.

46. As it happens in the theatre and such places of the shows, that the same and like things, always presented, at last cloy us; the same happens in the whole of life: for, all things, earlier or later, are just the same, and from the same causes. how long, then, can we desire to stay gazing on them.

47. CONSIDER frequently, that all men, of all sorts, of all kinds of studies or pursuits, of all nations, have died. return back to Philistio, Phœbus, and Origanio. go to other tribes, we must all remove to that place, whi-

¹ See B. II. 1.

ther so many great orators, so many venerable philosophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates, and so many heroes, have gone before; and so many generals and princes have followed. add to these, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, and other acute, sublime, laborious, artful, and arrogant genii; yea, such as have wittily derided this fading mortal life, which is but for a day; such as Menippus, and his brethren. consider that all these are long since in their graves. and, what is there calamitous in this to them; or even to such obscure men, whose names do not remain? the one thing valuable in this life, is, to spend it in a steady course of truth, justice,

and ¹ humanity, toward even the false and unjust.

48. WHEN you would cheer your heart, consider the several excellencies and abilities of your acquaintances; such as, the activity of one, the high sense of honour and modesty in another, the liberality of a third, and other virtues, in others. nothing rejoices the heart so much as the appearances or resemblances of the virtues, in the manners of those we converse with, frequently occurring to our view. let us, therefore, have them ready to reflect upon.

49. ARE you grieved that you are only of such or such a small weight, and not three hundred weight? no

¹ Here again the divine sentiment of returning good for evil.

more reason have you to be grieved that you live to such an age, and not to a greater. be content, as with the quantity of matter, so, with the space of time appointed for you.

50. LET us study to convince others of what is just; but, let us ourselves act what is just, whether they will or not. should one oppose you with superior force, then rouse your resignation to Providence, and your tranquillity; and improve this obstruction for the exercise of some other virtue; and remember, your former purpose was taken up with this¹ reservation, that you were never to aim at impossibilities. what, then, did you chiefly propose? to make a good at-

¹ See above, B. IV. 2.

tempt. in this you succeed; altho' you do not obtain what you first aimed at.

51. THE vain-glorious man places his good in the action of another; but the sensual, in his own suffering or passive feeling: the wise man places it in his own action.

52. YOU have it in your power, to have no such opinion, and thus to keep your soul undisturbed. the external things themselves have no power of causing opinions in us.

53. ENURE yourself to attend exactly to what is said by others, and to enter into the soul of the speaker.

54. WHAT is not the interest of the hive, is not the interest of the bee.

55. IF the sailors revile the pilot, and the patients the physician, whom will they attend to, and obey? and,

how will the one procure safety to the sailors, or the other to the patients?

56. How many of those who entered the world along with me, are gone off before me?

57. To men in the jaundice, honey seems bitter; and water is formidable to those who are bitten with a mad-dog. to boys the ball seems beautiful and honourable. why am I angry? has error in the mind less power than a little bile in the man who is in the jaundice, or a little poison in the man who was bit?

58. No man can hinder you to live according to the plan of your nature. and nothing can befall you, contrary to the plan of the universe.

59. EXAMINE well, what sort of

men they are; whom they study to please; and with what views; and by what actions they expect to please them. how speedily eternity will sweep them away into obscurity! and how many it hath already swept away!

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OF THE HISTORY OF THE

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JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

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